HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Nixon Makes Serious Error on SST

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

President Nixon has blundered, and blundered gravely, in his recommendation to throw good money after bad in federal subsidies to the supersonic transport (SST) plane. His decision has not a single valid argument in its favor.

This is said with deference to Washington's able Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), one of the most intelligent men in the Senate, and with sympathy for good friends in Seattle who glumly predict economic catastrophe if Boeing should have to call off the SST. But the arguments they advance are not convincing. Mr. Nixon is asking for a comeuppance on Capitol Hill. He is almost certain to get it.

The American version of the SST, now under construction at Seattle, would carry 280 passengers at speeds of up to 1,800 miles per hour. This would permit trans-Atlantic crossings, if everything went perfectly, in two and a half hours. The competing Anglo-French Concorde and the Soviet Union's Tu-144 offer roughly these same advantages.

The President's supporting arguments boil down to three main contentions: (1) The U.S. cannot afford to lose its prestigious position as the world's leader in aviation. (2) To surrender the supersonic field to France, England and the Soviet Union would damage our balance of payments. (3) While the immediate federal investment is high—at least $1.2 billion by 1972—the investment ultimately will be recouped by royalties on sales.

None of these arguments holds water.

The SST ought to be seen for what it is—a rich man's carriage. This sleek and gleaming beauty would function as a luxury service, at extra-high fares. In flight, it would trail a sonic boom 50 miles wide. It is at least arguable that such an arrogant and inconsiderable bauble would not win friends but lose them. Such "prestige" could prove a liability, not an asset.

At a White House briefing on September 23, President Nixon said he would ask for $662 million in the next five years to develop a supersonic transport aircraft. With the President, from left to right: Rep. William E. Minshall (R.-Ohio); Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D.-Wash.); Gov. Daniel J. Evans of Washington; President Nixon and Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe. A model of the SST is at left.

If Boeing were to sell 300 SST's by 1990, at $40 million each, the revenues theoretically would improve the U.S. balance of payments. But would they in fact? Sales of the SST would reduce sales of Boeing's new jumbo 747. Foreign purchasers, heavily subsidized by their governments, would bid more vigorously for U.S. tourist dollars. The figures, projected 20 to 30 years hence, are pure speculation.

Besides, there is no assurance that such sales actually would materialize. The SST's sole advantage is speed. It cannot fly as far or carry as many passengers as the jumbo. It will cost at least twice as much at the outset, and probably still more. The SST presents serious hazards in untested design and flight characteristics. If it cannot be flown over land routes at supersonic speeds, because of the sonic boom, even the advantage of speed will be lost. No rush of orders has developed here or abroad. There is no assurance that U.S. taxpayers ever would recover their costly investment.

The SST cannot be compared with space exploration, which grasps for new dimensions in knowledge. Its fall-out value to the Air Force is minimal; the Air Force already is flying supersonic aircraft—and incidentally, is receiving millions of dollars in claims for the boom-damage they cause.

An argument of priorities arises, and carries great weight. Wouldn't the sum asked by Mr. Nixon be far better spent, if it is to be channeled to aviation, on improvement of chaotic conditions in air traffic control? These problems are critical. Every air traveler knows them. What earthly sense does it make to compound foreseeable risks and delays by introducing another temperamental, high-speed prima donna of the skies?

I put off the philosophical questions to another time, and venture this observation only: Speed, sheer speed, is not necessarily a value worth pursuing under the circumstances that surround the SST. Mankind has greater needs than to cut three hours off the flight time to Paris. A society that pays so great a price may not have a valid claim on progress at all; it may be advancing, at 1,800 miles an hour, to the rear.

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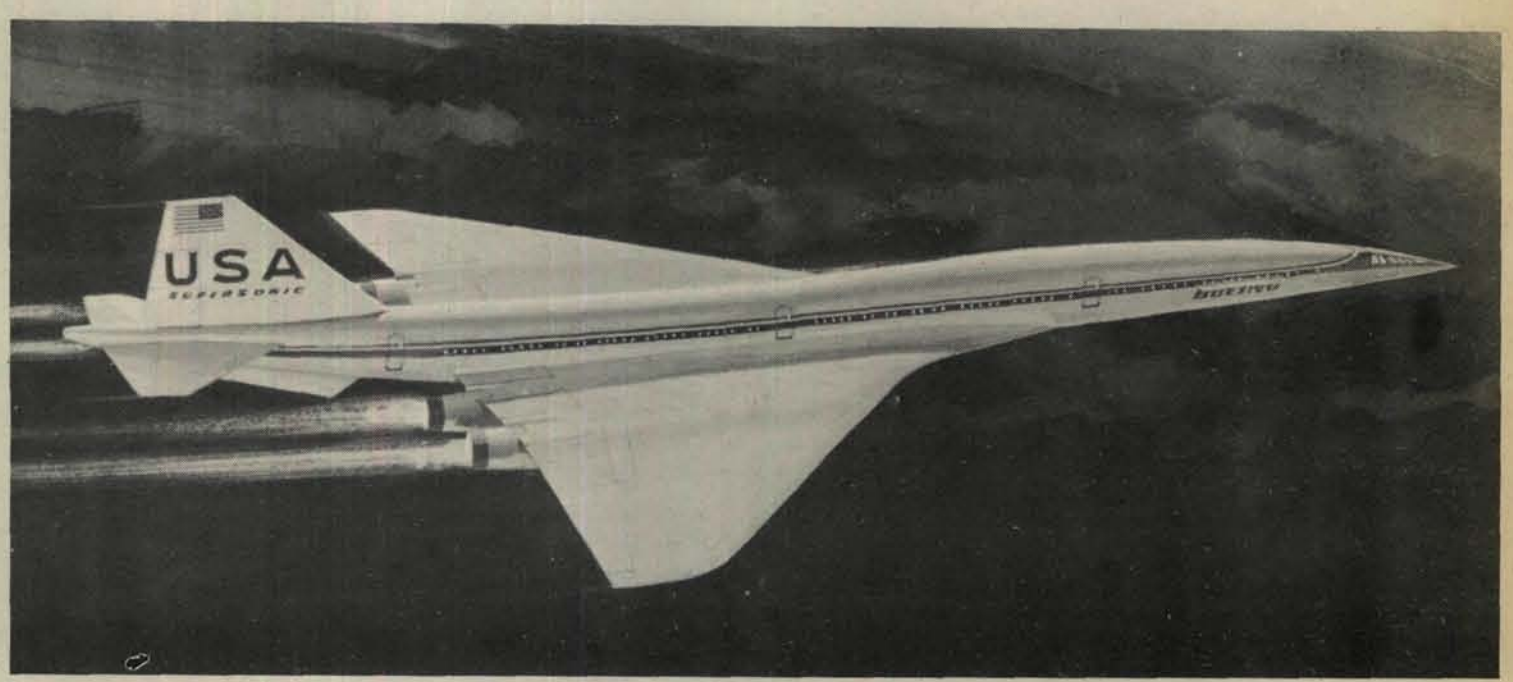

An artist's drawing of the SST.

Is Radicalism Hurting the NCC?

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Capital Briefs

● For two years top Republican party officials have been quietly trying to persuade conservative Democratic Sen. **Harry Byrd Jr.** of Virginia to switch his affiliation to the GOP. There has been no success on this score as yet, but last week a group of Byrd's most intimate associates in the Virginia Democratic party came out in suppost of the state's Republican gubernatorial nominee, Linwood Holton. Byrd himself has yet to designate his favorite in this November's contest between Holton and Democratic middle-roader William Battle.

● "It is rapidly becoming clear that the most intelligent and impressive campaign being run in this town [New York] is the quiet campaign of **John Marchi.**" That was the verdict last week not of a conservative Republican but of Pete Hamill, the ultra-liberal columnist for the equally liberal New York Post. Hamill, whose newspaper is supporting incumbent Mayor John Lindsay for re-election as mayor, accused both Lindsay and Democrat Mario Procaccino of running demagogic, pandering campaigns.

● **"Conservative" Republican businessmen** have been helping Sen. Vance Hartke, a liberal Indiana Democrat, raise a 1970 re-election war chest. The reason: Although they disapprove of his liberal policies generally, they hope he will toss business a few crumbs of support from his position on the Commerce Committee. As graying radical Saul Alinsky stated last week: "As for businessmen, I could persuade a capitalist on Friday to bankroll a revolution on Saturday that will bring him a profit on Sunday even though he will be executed on Monday."

● Liberal newspapers across the country—the Washington Post, New York Times, etc.—revealed some of their own prejudices last week when running stories on a Gallup survey detailing Negro reaction to President Nixon's Administration. Typical of the headlines accompanying the poll was one run by the Times: "Negroes Critical of Nixon in Poll." Actually, the poll revealed that the President, who collected about 5 per cent of the Negro vote in 1968, had increased his popularity nearly eight times, as 38 per cent of the Negroes apparently approve of the way he is handling his job. Moreover, only 31 per cent—a clear minority—believe Nixon is doing a poor job, with the remainer undecided. Furthermore, this positive reaction among a plurality of Negroes is all the more remarkable in view of the liberal press' constant attempts to portray the President as a captive of Southern racists.

● **W. Averell Harriman,** a strong voice for the diplomatic doves who is still advising the U.S. to strike a deal with Hanoi, has, nevertheless, furnished strong evidence that North Viet Nam will probably never live up to any agreement that might be concluded. In the August 24 issue of the New York Times Magazine, Harriman, who was the prime architect of the Laotian agreement, acknowledged: "It's very vivid in my mind that Hanoi didn't abide by the 1962 Laos agreement for a single day."

● Harriman also made some extremely interesting observations about the Soviets: He said they have no intention of helping us solve the Viet Nam war and that "They still want to **promote communism** to a point where it will dominate the world." Coming from Harriman, say diplomatic insiders, that's quite an admission, since he's been pushing the mellowing line for more than a decade.

● Boston matron **Louise Day Hicks,** who attracted national attention with her anti-busing campaign for mayor in 1967, is back on the Bay State political scene. Last week Miss Hicks ran at the head of a 23-candidate field in a preliminary election for the nine-member Boston City Council and is now conceded an easy victory for a seat in the November run-off contest. The Beantown mayoral post is up for grabs again in 1971, and a seat on the City Council would provide Miss Hicks with an ideal launching pad for a second go-around at trying to take over City Hall.

● Actor **Richard Boone** is considering a race for governor of Hawaii. Boone, a conservative Republican, has been urged by GOP leaders to run for the state house. They point out the Democrats are badly split—incumbent Gov. John A. Burns will be opposed for renomination by Lt. Gov. Thomas Gill—and that the island GOP has an excellent opportunity to pick up the governorship.

● Washington humorist **Art Buchwald** is putting the finishing touches on his first play, "Trial Balloon," a satirical version of America's involvement in Viet Nam. Asked if it were a comedy, Newsweek reported this Buchwald reply: "I hope so. There are no nudes, no homosexuals, no lesbians. It could be a breakthrough in the theater—the public may not be ready for it."

● Conservative Rep. **William Cramer** (R.-Fla.) announced last week that he was a candidate for Democrat Spessard Holland's Senate seat. Holland is not expected to seek re-election next fall and a victory by Cramer would make Florida the first Southern state with two GOP senators.

● A number of informed U.S. diplomats were reported to be shocked last week when America's ambassador to India, former Sen. **Kenneth Keating** of New York, praised the new Socialist policies of India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi—including the nationalization of the banks—and urged her government to "go to the left of center. . . ." "Why in the world," exclaimed one diplomatic observer, "does Keating urge India to go left when that is precisely the course that has imperiled India's economy and forced her to rely on Moscow and Washington for substantial amounts of foreign aid?"

● The Internal Revenue Service has launched a formal probe into the finances of Rep. **Adam Clayton Powell** (D.-N.Y.). In a letter to Speaker John McCormack, Assistant Atty. Gen. Will Wilson requested copies of House documents for transmittal to the IRS. The records are said to deal with reports that Powell diverted more than $45,000 in public funds to his personal use.

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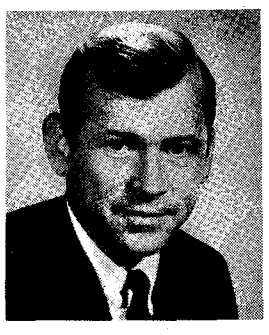
GOP Leadership Swings Left

The liberal wing of the Republican party—with some vital aid from conservative GOP senators—won a spectacular coup last week as the Senate Republicans elected Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania for its leader and Robert Griffin of Michigan for whip. Not since World War II when the Republican leader was Oregon's Charles McNary have GOP liberals held such sway in the Senate.



BAKER

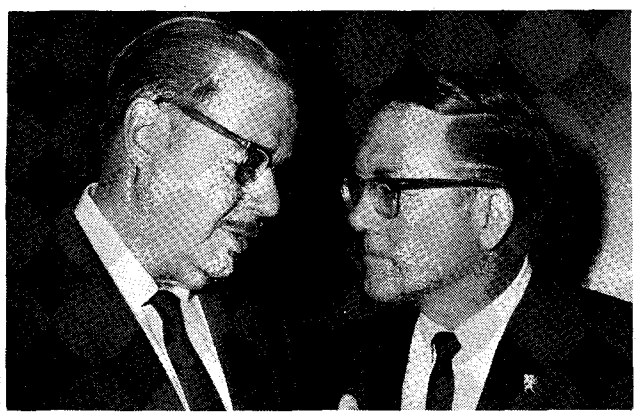
Sen. Robert Dole, a freshman conservative from Kansas, summed up the outcome this way: "They [Scott and Griffin] are both fine men, but a little too liberally oriented for me. And since they were elected by the liberal members, I assume they will have to reflect their views."

While liberal columnists and editorial writers were hailing this left turn in the Senate GOP leadership, astute political observers were stressing that the outcome could have a devastating effect on the Republicans in the 1970 elections, particularly in the South, where Scott's brand of liberalism has been anathema.

"With President Nixon having run a conservative campaign in 1968 and with the entire country moving to the right, why in the world the Senate Republicans would elect as their leader a symbol of Eastern Establishment liberalism is baffling," commented one high-ranking Senate politico. "Perhaps," he continued, "it's the same old GOP death wish."

Lee Nunn, director of the GOP Senatorial Campaign Committee, for instance, thinks that's exactly what it is. Nunn and others associated with the committee fear that a good number of Republicans, including many conservative "fat cats," will now refuse to part with their money for GOP Senate races. Whereas once the GOP expected to capture the Senate in 1970, now there is the feeling that this will be particularly difficult.

"Conservatives just aren't likely to shower money on the GOP Senate campaigns when the GOP Senate spokesman is Hugh Scott, an active foe of Republican



Newly elected Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (left) huddles with the new Republican whip, Sen. Robert P. Griffin (Mich).

conservatives," said one observer. Scott's anti-conservative image may also boomerang against the Republicans in the House.

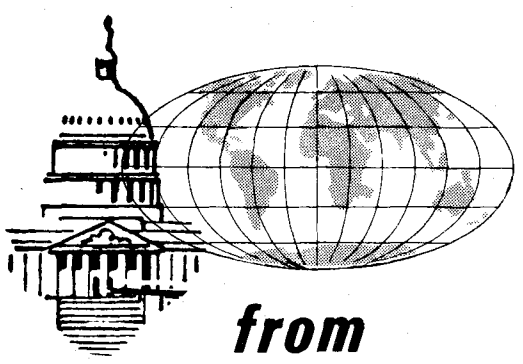
Scott has a number of other defects as well. His age—68—does nothing to give the GOP the younger image it is now eager to convey in this media-oriented age. Nor does Scott enhance the "winner" image of the party. The Pennsylvania liberal was national chairman of the Republican party in 1948 when the GOP not only lost the presidency but lost more seats in Congress and in the state legislatures than in any subsequent election.

Scott, moreover, not only abandoned and sabotaged Barry Goldwater's campaign in 1964, but he could do nothing to put his own state of Pennsylvania into Nixon's corner in 1968. (Griffin, by the way, hails from Michigan, another state that did not go for Nixon. And neither leader comes from the South, the West or the "heartland," which, as Kevin Phillips has proved, the GOP must cultivate in order to become a majority party.)

Though not totally explainable on ideological grounds, the Scott-Griffin victory must be considered a clear-cut victory for the "progressive" wing of the GOP. Scott not only has a liberal voting record but has been an inveterate foe of Republican conservatives. Since his arrival in the Senate, Griffin has teamed up with the liberal wing on a wide range of issues.

The litmus test revealing whether a lawmaker is liberal or conservative is the score he receives on his vote record as gauged by the Americans for Constitutional Action. According to the ACA, Scott has voted only 41 per cent conservatively on the average, while Griffin is just a shade more conservative with a 52 per cent score. By way of contrast, the late Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), whom Scott replaces

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

as GOP Senate leader, posted a 73 per cent lifetime ACA average, scoring close to 90 per cent in the last session of Congress. Sen. Howard Baker, whom Scott defeated for the leadership post, has voted conservatively 72 per cent of the time.

Scott, moreover, has waged a vendetta against Goldwater conservatives. The Pennsylvania liberal, for instance, was in the forefront of those who helped torpedo the Goldwater campaign in 1964.

He has openly branded the Young Republicans, because of their conservative cast of thinking, as "bigoted, immature hellions" and "brain-twisted deviates."

A big supporter of the liberal Ripon Society, which backed liberal Democrat Allard K. Lowenstein in the last election, Scott has also cuddled closely with the left-wing National Committee for an Effective Congress, which channels most of its money into the campaigns of left-wing Democrats. In 1967 he took part in an NCEC-sponsored meeting in Washington which had been called for the purpose of encouraging Republican liberals to bolt to the left of the GOP leadership. Only this June, Scott was threatening the President with an open revolt by the liberals because of the President's stands on domestic affairs.

Why, then, did Scott win when a majority of the Senate Republicans tend to tilt to the right? The Washington Post may have said it best when it remarked that leadership contests "are highly arcane affairs, so that it is at least as easy to figure out the considerations (and votes) that went into the election of a Pope of Rome as it is to figure them out when the people's elected representatives in Congress elevate one of its own."

But part of the reason is that the conservatives showed a lack of leadership. Sen. Howard Baker, the compromise choice for the conservatives, just didn't have what it takes to win. A moderate conservative from Tennessee, Baker first lost the minority leadership position by a 24-to-19 margin and then was dealt out of the whip spot 23 to 20.

Baker initially seemed like a good choice to some because of his youthful image and the fact that he appeared to have a voting position far more acceptable to the majority of Senate Republicans than that held by the abrasively liberal Scott. The election of a Tennessean would also have been another strong signal to the South—which provided Nixon with his nomination and electoral victory in 1968—that it is warmly welcomed in the councils of the Republican party.

But Baker's bid was to be denied. While some of his assets were obvious, the youthful lawmaker also possessed a glaring number of weaknesses, including the fact that he was only a first-term senator with no important committee assignments. Aside from this, his youth—44—worked against him, since many ambitious GOP senators did not exactly relish the prospect of selecting as their leader someone who might reign for some 20 years or so and thus block their own way to the top.

The Tennessee freshman turned out to be so weak, in fact, that conservatives like Wallace Bennett (Utah), and Gordon Allott (Colo.) refused to commit themselves to Baker, while Idaho's Len Jordan, another bedrock conservative, and Iowa's Jack Miller handed their votes to the Pennsylvania liberal. Thus the leadership struggle not only placed the liberals at the helm but revealed a gaping lack of leadership and cohesiveness in the conservative faction.

Despite all these negative aspects, however, the Senate is not completely lost to the liberals. For one thing, Scott himself has taken a decided turn to the "middle" ever since he won the whip post in January. In contrast to such liberals like Charles E. Goodell (N.Y.), Scott supported the ABM decision and voted to put Otto Otepka on the Subversive Activities Control Board. Even more surprising, he says he is opposed to abolishing the electoral college and favors Sen. Mundt's conservative "district plan" proposal rather than the radical direct election amendment passed recently by the House. In short, Scott may not turn out to be as liberal as he has been in the past.

Griffin is also not cut from the same cloth as a Javits or a Goodell. Despite his low ACA rating, he has proved conservative on a number of crucial issues. Furthermore, the Republicans in 1970 should increase their conservative strength in the Senate by picking up seats in Florida and Tennessee and, hopefully, by knocking Goodell out in a primary fight. Thus, the conservatives could very well make a big comeback in the Senate next year. Meanwhile, conservatives should keep their fingers crossed.

Rock Falls on Goodell

Sen. Charles Goodell's widely publicized legislative plan to have the U.S. disengage from Viet Nam may have quite another effect for the New York Republican: It may well cause his own "disengagement" from the U.S. Senate. Goodell's outrageous proposal and, more notably, the strong reaction to it by New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, could well have sealed Goodell's fate as a statewide Republican office-seeker in New York.

GOODELL

Euphemistically labeled the "Viet Nam Disengagement Act of 1969," the Goodell bill would declare that Congress, under its constitutional power "to raise and support armies" and to declare war, would not appropriate any funds for use in Viet Nam after Dec. 1, 1970.

In other words, if the Nixon Administration has not wrapped things up in South Viet Nam by that date, all U.S. troops are to be brought home immediately, no matter what.

Gov. Rockefeller had tried in private conversation to talk Goodell out of his hasty action, to no avail. And as soon as Goodell officially introduced his legislation, Rockefeller immediately condemned the proposal:

"The action suggested by Sen. Goodell can only undermine the effectiveness of the President's bargaining position in his negotiations with the North Vietnamese. A new President has been in office only eight months, trying to rectify a situation which has developed over eight years. . . .Legislation that would

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undermine the President's effectiveness. . .seems to me ill-advised and counter-productive."

The political implications of Rockefeller's brisk rejoinder are clear for all to see. Rocky appointed Goodell, then a middle-road upstate New York congressman, to fill the unexpired term of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. Next year, Goodell must face all the voters of the state for the first time.

Apparently under the delusion that he must carry New York City to carry the state and that only a far-out liberal can carry New York City, Goodell has, since his appointment, embraced every left-wing cause in sight and attacked President Nixon at every chance, his Viet Nam disengagement bill being only the latest in a series of assaults on the President's integrity in trying to find a Viet Nam solution. In his leftward trek Goodell has been about as subtle as a Mack truck, alienating even liberals in his own party.

Among these is Nelson Rockefeller. Until his recent blast, state GOP leader Rocky has resisted taking any pot-shots at the man he had appointed to the Senate, saying only that the still-wet-behind-the-ears senator was "doing the best he can."

But it was no secret that Rockefeller had become deeply disturbed by Goodell's hysterical liberal act, especially his unwarranted attacks on the President.

Goodell knew this, too, and realized that Rockefeller might make no attempt to dissuade conservative New York Republicans (whom Goodell has permanently alienated) from trying to deny Goodell renomination to the Senate next year. In fact, Goodell has already declared that, should he be denied renomination by his party's chieftains, he will force a primary race and challenge Rockefeller as "boss" of the state party.

(Rockefeller, of course, is also up for re-election in 1970, should he decide to run for a fourth term, and appears to be mending his fences with state party conservatives toward making another run. His chief political ally in Albany, Lt. Gov. Malcolm Wilson, is one of the more conservative Republicans who might challenge Goodell for the Senate.)

Should Goodell be thrown into a primary race against a popular conservative Republican—which seems very likely since he now has the support of only two GOP county leaders—he will find his political stock and due-debts approaching zero. His most recent escapade, with the Viet Nam "disengagement" bill, made certain of that.

New Left in the Foreign Service

Human Events has come across another reason why President Nixon needs to shake up not only the State Department but the Foreign Service as well.

On September 18 the United States Information Agency was holding a periodic training seminar for returning Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) and a group of USIA staffers in Room 1100, 1776 Pennsylvania Ave. The purpose of the program was to acquaint the returning FSOs, mostly junior officers having served four to six years abroad, with a number of events which had transpired in this country during their absence.

The 3:15 to 4:15 p.m. panel, attended by some 20 FSOs, was on the New Left. Panelists included Allan Brownfeld, a teacher at the University of Maryland and editor of the *New Guard*, the Young Americans for Freedom publication. Also on the panel was Branch Lotspeich, a 22-year-old pre-medical student serving as director of research with the Association of Student Governments. The third member was Robert Dunne, a long-time assistant counsel to Sen. John McClellans' Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations and, by all reports, an excellent investigator.

Both Brownfeld and Lotspeich, who were the first two speakers, were in fundamental agreement on the New Left. They contended that many who consider themselves a part of this movement are sincere, hold valid grievances and are asking important questions. But they also insisted that in many instances the New Left was being led astray by those who believe in fomenting riots and disorders. In a democratic society, where petition is available, violence has no place and can only lead to chaos, they stressed.

When Dunne rose to speak, many believed he would echo these sentiments. Indeed, panel moderator Kenneth Bevis from the USIA apologized for not having brought a member of the SDS to the session but explained that SDS would have nothing to do with the "Establishment." But Dunne proved there was little reason for any SDS members to have attended.

Startling his listeners, Dunne, according to the moderator and the two panelists, each of whom has been contacted by *Human Events*, began to deliver a talk from the viewpoint of the New Left.

According to Brownfeld, Dunne contended that violence was not necessarily bad and that the SDS was a constructive force on campus. He emphasized, in fact, that he had refused to participate in certain parts of the campus disorders probe by McClellan's permanent subcommittee on investigations because of "ideological" differences, a statement he also made to *Human Events*.

Dunne then proceeded, according to Brownfeld and Lotspeich, to advance the view that only through violence could beneficial social change be achieved. Sprinkling his talk with pungent terms, Dunne, according to Brownfeld, said: "Kids will not be taught a bunch of horse - - - -. My kid wants to be an artist. Why does she need three years of mathematics? Violence will correct that situation better than petition. You've got to knock heads to get what you want in this world."

When Lotspeich attempted to explain the ways in which his organization sought to achieve meaningful reform on the campus through peaceful means, Dunne interrupted, stating, according to Brownfeld, "Once you remove force as a tactic, you lose all effectiveness. Students would be s - - - upon by the college administrations."

Even more upsetting than Dunne's statement was the attitude of the FSOs present, many of whom also expressed the view that violence was necessary in today's American society.

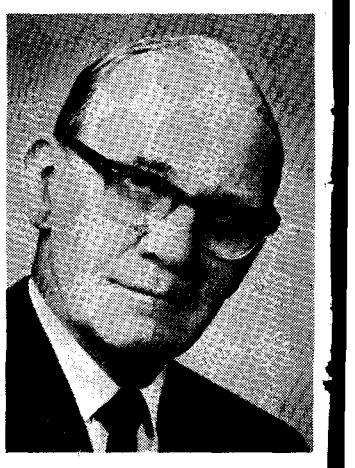
One of the officers who had returned from France applauded the student revolutionaries in Paris, including Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and said if he had to choose which side of the barricades to be on, he would certainly have been with the students, not, he said, with "our so-called friends." When Brownfeld described the totalitarian tactics which student revolutionaries had employed to virtually eliminate free speech on the campus of the University of California, another Foreign Service Officer said, "This is the price you have to pay in a revolutionary situation."

Toward the end of the meeting, says Brownfeld, "I once again pointed out that violence is a destructive and counter-productive force in a democratic society. Mr. Dunne stated that the burning of buildings and other sabotage efforts of the New Left were no worse than our bombing in Viet Nam and the use of napalm against innocent people.

"When Mr. Dunne compared violent acts of sabotage by revolutionary groups on the campus and in the city with the conduct of the war in Viet Nam by our duly established military forces, not one of the Foreign Service Officers rose to defend the war or point out the important distinctions between the two instances of the use of force. I wonder if they do any better in their posts around the world when faced with critics of our commitment in Viet Nam."

• When *Human Events* called Dunne, he appeared uncertain about exactly what he had said, but he did not deny the thrust of the statements attributed to him. While he did vehemently insist that he had in no way cast aspersions on his subcommittee's investigation into campus disorders, he did acknowledge that he had "ideological" differences with the subcommittee and had not participated in certain phases of the investigation because of them. He also admitted using pungent language in the panel discussion and saying that "violence is very often necessary to achieve certain ends."

BROWNFELD



McCLELLAN

Committee staffers say that Dunne is an excellent investigator who did a superb job on both the TFX and labor rackets scandals. Furthermore, Jerome S. Adlerman, general counsel to the Permanent Investigations subcommittee, contends that Dunne was just "goading" Brownfeld in his remarks and acting as an *agent provocateur*.

Whether this is the case or not—and Dunne never gave this explanation to us—he left the other panelists and some Foreign Service Officers with the distinct impression that a respected member of the McClellan subcommittee on investigations had disagreed with the McClellan probe into the SDS and campus disorders and, in fact, was an apologist for both.

Whatever the truth about Dunne, however, far more important was the amazingly enthusiastic response the Foreign Service Officers gave the New Left view of the world.

Lawyers Back Haynsworth

Liberal senators continued to grill Supreme Court nominee Clement Haynsworth Jr. on the Judiciary Committee last week, but so far they have not been able to pin the "conflict-of-interest" tag on him that they have so desperately been trying to do.

The opposition first assailed Haynsworth because he had had a passive, one-seventh interest in a vending machine company that received about 3 per cent of its gross revenue from Deering Milliken textile mills. Therefore, so the ludicrous argument went, he had no right to sit on a case involving a Deering Milliken subsidiary even though the case did not relate to the vending company in any way and even though the subsidiary did absolutely no business with the vending company.

This "conflict-of-interest" case evaporated when the American Bar Association's Judiciary Committee found Haynsworth "highly acceptable" by professional standards and without fault in connection with the vending company affair.

Furthermore, Lawrence E. Walsh, a former federal judge who headed the committee, maintained that Haynsworth actually had a *duty* to sit on the case. To have disqualified himself on such a frivolous matter, Walsh maintained, would have been wrong.

Next the anti-Haynsworth crowd found out that Haynsworth, on the recommendation of his broker, bought $16,000 worth of stock in the Brunswick Corp. in December 1967, some six weeks after the court had unanimously awarded $1,400 to the proprietor of a bowling alley on which Brunswick had foreclosed.

Justice Harrison Winter, who wrote the opinion, admitted that the opinion had not been publicly released until February 2, but he revealed it had actually been decided, unanimously, on Nov. 10, 1967. Though Judge Winter said he felt it would have been wiser to wait to buy the stock after the opinion had been filed and past arguments had been disposed of, he maintained that Haynsworth had violated no judicial code of ethics. Asked bluntly by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) if he thought

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Haynsworth's action in buying the Brunswick stock "should or should not disqualify him from being a member of the Supreme Court," Judge Winter replied: "I don't consider it the slightest disqualification."

Despite all this, the opposition continues to claim that the Hanysworth case is just like the Fortas case. The allegation, many objective observers feel, is close to slander. While Haynsworth has engaged in perfectly legal and ethical business transactions, Fortas, after he became an associate justice of the Supreme Court, entered into a shadowy deal with financier Louis Wolfson.

Barely three months after his elevation to the High Court, Fortas received a Wolfson Family Foundation check for $20,000 in January 1966 and deposited it in his personal bank account. The fee—ostensibly for consulting on Wolfson's family good works—was considered a fat one for a foundation that had doled out only $77,680 that fiscal year to a routine miscellany of hospitals, scholarship funds, Jewish charities, etc. It also developed that Fortas was to receive this fee for life and if he died his wife would continue to get the fee.

Moreover, Wolfson and an associate, then under intensive investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission in two separate stock manipulation cases, dropped Fortas' name in strategic places in their effort to stay out of prison.

Wolfson and various associates were indicted in one case in September, in another in October. On December 22—more than 11 months after he banked the fee—Fortas wrote his own check for $20,000 and returned it to the foundation. Wolfson was later convicted in both stock cases.

In short, Fortas had made a deal with a man under investigation by the SEC and continued to hold his money after he had been indicted—all this while being a member of the Supreme Court. Haynsworth's impersonal stock transactions aren't remotely similar.

The Fortas case was so outrageous that he did not find a single person in the country of any importance to defend him. The American Bar Association's ethics committee, citing eight canons of judicial ethics, concluded that Fortas' relationship with Wolfson was "clearly contrary" to the ethical code. In addition to all this, Fortas, in his original explanation of the deal with Wolfson, failed to disclose important and relevant details.

McGovern's Food Stamp Mischief

The Senate last week passed a sweeping liberalization of the food stamp program that amounted to a major "personal triumph" for liberal Democrat George McGovern, South Dakota's presidential aspirant.

McGOVERN

The Senate voted 54 to 40 to scrap the recommendations of its own Agriculture committee and adopted proposals by the South Dakotan aimed at making food stamps available to every poor person in the nation.

While hailed in liberal circles, the McGovern proposals were considered a boondoggle by many observers. The McGovern plan, for instance, would cost at least $2 billion more than the committee proposal, even though Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin claimed he could not administer the committee's own generous proposal efficiently.

In addition, the McGovern plan would permit any applicant to be certified for food stamps merely by signing an affidavit. Furthermore, a person doesn't even have to buy food under the McGovern bill. He can buy any item that relates to hygiene, which, according to Sen. Herman Talmadge (D.-Fla.), would "include such items as brooms, mops, hair shampoos, deodorants, laundry aids, water softeners and things of that kind." The House, it is hoped by conservative lawmakers, will radically undo McGovern's mischief.

N.Y.'s Shocking Welfare Scandal

When the House Ways and Means Committee begins discussions of President Nixon's welfare reform proposals later this fall, Chairman Wilbur Mills has vowed that one of the first items to be investigated will be the disclosure last week that New York City has been making upwards of $66 million in unauthorized welfare payments for at least the last year.

MILLS

That shocking disclosure was contained in a report released last week by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. At the urging of several New York congressmen, HEW had investigated a sampling of 543 welfare cases between Nov. 1, 1968, and Jan. 15, 1969, and found that the city was making a net total of $5.5 million in unauthorized welfare payments each month.

Ways and Means Chairman Mills was himself the first official to discuss the report in public in a speech prepared for a meeting of the Joint Council on Economic Education. In one program alone, the controversial Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Mills revealed that a minimum of 91,000 were on the rolls in New York City who should not have been there, thereby involving "expenditures running into hundreds of millions of dollars a year."

Furthermore, said Mills, "another 216,000 persons were in families that were receiving more than they should have under the law. Obviously, the law was not being properly administered."

Moreover, Mills expressed his opinion that the HEW study's figures were open to some question. The net annual overpayment of $66 million, avowed the influential Arkansas Democrat, may be a "very conservative" estimate.

New York City officials immediately said the federal findings were overinflated. They contended that city welfare overpayments were "only" $10.7 million per year—a figure which they, presumably, don't feel uncomfortable living with.

But no one was buying this defense. Rep. James Delaney (D.-N.Y.), one of those who had requested the HEW study, accused the city welfare department of making "an extensive effort to play down the gross mismanagement of the welfare program" and called on the program's current administrators to resign.

And a New York *Times* editorial, contending that the city vs. federal "numbers game is pointless," said the basic issue "is the necessity of making over the whole bankrupt system" of welfare.

Which is just what the Administration's proposed welfare reforms are intended to do. For one thing, as written, the Nixon proposal would do away completely with the Aid to Families with Dependent Children boondoggle.

However, the Administration's welfare planners have appeared loath to apply the necessary controls to their revised program which would prevent future cheating and overpayments. If the present program, at least in New York City, is "not being properly administered," in Rep. Mills' words, steps must be taken to assure that any revised program will be carefully run all across the nation.

The lesson of New York City is that good money can follow bad if the guys handing it out don't much care where, or to whom, it's going. Chairman Mills and the members of his Ways and Means Committee, it is hoped, will apply the lessons learned in the New York welfare scandal to Nixon's nationwide welfare plan.

Some Are More Equal Than Others

Newsday's syndicated Washington columnist, Nick Thimmesch, has revealed some interesting information about politicians who scream the most about punishing Southern states for not integrating their schools fast enough: Some of the biggest table-pounders and finger-shakers send their own children to private schools or to virtually all-white suburban public schools in Maryland and Virginia rather than to the predominantly colored schools in Washington, D.C.

Liberal senators who live in the Nation's Capital are among the worst followers of the double standard. Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), who yields to no one in his verbal liberalism, has two children he sends across the District line into Maryland public schools, paying $1,014 annual tuition each.

Senators Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.), Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.), Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) and William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) have, says Thimmesch, "either sent or are sending their children to high-priced (up to $1,900-a-year tuition) private schools afflicted with the racial double-standard and status-conscious bickering that privileged folks indulge themselves with."

Even privileged Negroes apparently don't want to send their children to the District's heavily integrated schools. The only Negro member of the Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall, who led the fight against Southern segregation, placed his children in a private school, as did Julius Hobson, a black militant on the D.C. school board. James Farmer, the Negro assistant secretary at the Health, Education and Welfare Department, also has "two children in private schools," says Thimmesch.

"These folk," says Thimmesch, "apparently think integration is for lowbrow Southern whites, the poor and those beer-drinking ethnics in the North whose cars bear bumper stickers reading 'Support Your Local Police.'

"Integration is a moral as well as a legal matter, and the hypocrites want to unload the moral burden on lower-income groups."

Spock's 'March Against Death'

Sometime baby doctor Benjamin Spock, having escaped a federal charge of conspiring to violate the draft laws, is back in the business of planning and leading anti-Viet Nam war activities. On November 14 and 15, Spock recently announced at a news conference, he will lead a 36-hour "march against death" in the Nation's Capital.

The Spock march will be a part of the "fall offensive" planned by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, an umbrella group that includes those organizing the October 15 "Viet Nam moratorium" student strike on college campuses. Spock said he expects upwards of 500,000 dissidents to show up for his November demonstration, which will begin at the Arlington Cemetery and conclude with a march past the White House and on to Capitol Hill.

Spock's plans were not deterred by President Nixon's effort to bring more troops home from South Viet Nam. "The announced troop withdrawal by Mr. Nixon is a sop," the famed doctor told reporters, "an insult to the intelligence of the American people. He is playing the same game familiar to his predecessor of attempting to deceive the American people."

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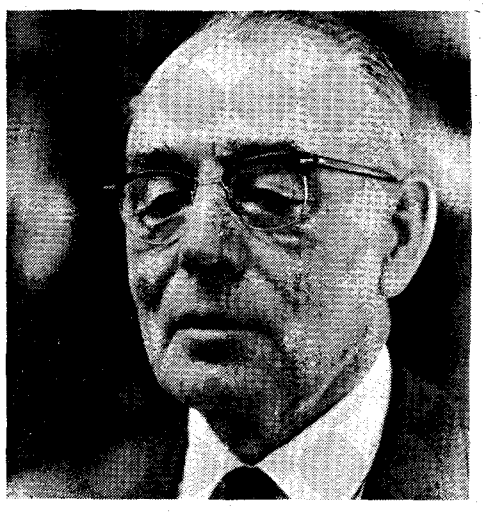
Food to Burn?

From the Indianapolis *Star*

Since the end of World War II the United States taxpayers have sent $7.2 billion in foreign aid to India, a great deal of which has been food.

Last year a religious leader in India burned up over half-a-million dollars' worth of food in a religious ceremony. This is supposed to be a religious sacrifice to "foster universal peace and the welfare and prosperity of the human race."



Iowa Republican Rep. H. R. Gross has unleashed his famed acid tongue against U.S. foreign aid to India, where religious leaders have burned food to promote "universal peace."

This year the same religious leader plans to burn up $16 million worth of food—8,000 tons of it—for the same reason. He is going to set fire to 1,860 tons of rice, 930 tons of barley, 375 tons of sugar, 4,590 tons of sesame seed and 375 tons of herbs.

The Nixon Administration has just asked the Congress to provide $400 million for aid to India. So far the $7.2 billion we have given India has not increased the incomes or prosperity of the Indian people above what it was in the '50s. Our foreign aid program in India has been just about as successful as the Indian religious leader's food-burning program to "foster universal peace" and all that.

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) has stated on the floor of the House, "If the Indians want to burn every bushel of rice or barley in the country, if they want to put the torch to every last pound of butter and sugar within their borders, that is their business and it is perfectly all right with me. But why the American people should be called upon to subsidize this is utterly beyond me."

It is utterly beyond us, too.

□□□

GENUINE HARMONY?—"Illinois Democrats, split since the Chicago convention debacle, evidently have kissed and made up. Mayor Daley showed up at a picnic of liberal Democrats in Libertyville, put his arm around one of his party enemies, Adali E. Stevenson III, and extended the hand of friendship to Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota, with whom he has quarreled publicly. National politics hasn't seen anything like it since Hubert Humphrey linked arms with Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia."—From the Milwaukee *Sentinel*

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A bi-partisan fact-finding committee of U.S. citizens has warned that a premature withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam could give the enemy renewed strength and the sacrifices of our soldiers, such as those awaiting evacuation from battle shown above, will have "been in vain."

Fact-Finders Urge Washington: Don't Rush Viet Nam Withdrawal

By VICTOR LASKY

A nine-member, bi-partisan fact-finding commission has just returned from Southeast Asia with a warning against premature withdrawals of American troops from South Viet Nam.

The group is not opposed to the substitution of Vietnamese troops for Americans. "The policy of reciprocal de-escalation is feasible," it said, "provided the withdrawal of United States forces is closely geared to demonstrated improvement in South Vietnamese capabilities and is not forced prematurely by war-weary American public opinion."

Sponsored by the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Viet Nam, the group consisted of Dr. Edmund A. Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and former U.S. ambassador to the Congo; John W. Hanes Jr., former assistant secretary of state and now a partner in Wertheim & Co.; Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, former U.S. representative on the United Nations Human Rights Commission; Russell T. Lund, president of Lund's Inc., Minneapolis; Lester Malkerson, chairman of the board of regents, University of Minnesota; Rabbi Schulem Rubin of New York; Charles J. Stephens, graduate student at the University of California; Charles Tyroler II, president of Washburn, Stringer Associates, Inc., Washington.

For the most part, these distinguished citizens are middle-of-the-roaders not known for extremist sentiments. As a matter of fact, most of them can correctly be labeled as being of the liberal persuasion. Which makes their joint statement all the more significant.

They flatly assert that since the Tet offensive of early 1968, "the enemy in Viet Nam has become much weaker, our side much stronger. This is chiefly because of the enemy's staggering losses, Gen. Abrams' small unit spoiling tactics, and the mobilization of the South Vietnamese people which is one of the greatest in modern times."

"Yet," they continue, "the enemy retains a kind of initiative through use of his sanctuaries in Laos and Cambodia and north of the DMZ. . . .If American and Vietnamese commanders are not able or are not allowed to deny him access to certain corridors, our casualty rolls could go still higher. . . ."

Much to their surprise, the group discovered the South Vietnamese were not unhappy about current American withdrawals. "The first withdrawals have actually stimulated them. However, they see the whole process as gradual, related to their own progress and involving at the end an important residual logistical presence." Such presence would include troop lift, air support, staff assistance and reserves.

"If we pull out prematurely," they warned, "the enemy can reverse the tide running against him, complete his subjugation not only of Viet Nam but of adjoining territory and we will have lost more than 38,000 American lives in vain. . . .In Laos we noted that the North Vietnamese invaders' unprecedented success during the rainy season had coincided with the so-called 'lull' in Viet Nam. In Thailand our visit coincided with the move by the Thai government to reduce U.S. forces, a decision which, however conditional, must give comfort to the enemy."

This is not an entirely happy report, but it is one that ought to be read by Washington policy-makers. It is a reply, however, to those Americans who believe that a precipitate withdrawal of our troops could bring peace to Southeast Asia.

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Parishioners Fed Up With Radicalism?

National Council of Churches Forced to Trim Spending

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

On September 13 the National Council of Churches, meeting in Indianapolis, announced a sharp cutback in its 1970 budget because of a drop of nearly $2.5 million compared to its receipts of a year ago.

Dr. R.H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the NCC, said, "Our over-all fiscal situation poses some of the most critical problems which the council has confronted in this area during its history." He added that the situation was "in part a reflection of denominational difficulties," many of which have also recently reported shrinking incomes and resultant budget cuts.

Some church fiscal officers at the Indianapolis meeting stated that a greater proportion of religious contributions is being kept locally, rather than forwarded into national church programs.

What causes this?

Maybe it's simple.

Maybe a growing number of parishioners are getting fed up with the reactions of the NCC and the high commands of the individual denominations. Not having the time or the interest to get themselves elected as delegates to church conclaves, it is possible that a large spectrum of the silent faithful are replying in the only way they know how—with buttoned purses.

In April, when James Forman, former head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (the "non-violent" has recently been dropped), sprang the "Black Manifesto" on American churches, the first reaction was shocked disbelief.

Forman, who had previously called for an end of the capitalist system in America, demanded $500 million from American churches and synagogues in "reparations" for past cruelties of whites toward Negroes and the manifesto warned that church services would be disrupted and church property occupied until each denomination had met its quota.

Nor were Forman and his National Black Economic Development Conference slow to act. The Sunday communion services at New York's Riverside Church were interrupted while Forman mounted the pulpit and insisted that the church sign over 60 per cent of its investment income.

Two days later, in imitation of Martin Luther's "95 Theses," a Black Manifesto was posted on the door of the headquarters of the Lutheran Church of America, together with a demand for $50 million. Immediately thereafter, a delegation appeared at the Catholic Archdiocesan Chancellory in New York wanting $200 million.

Black militant James Forman has also persuaded the National Council of Churches to pay him "reparations."

Shortly thereafter the painful rationalizing began.

The Catholic magazine, *America,* on May 24 carried an editorial that stated: "The Black Manifesto, by its very violence and unreasonableness, may force not only churches but the entire nation to come up with a better strategy for remedying national injustice."

In an article by Ronald Goetz in the June 18 *Christian Century* it was said:

"Black militants have one lever against the church which puts them in an ascendant moral position: they have on their side the Bible, the book to which white churches theoretically look with awe. . . .The white church ought to see this challenge as a blessing. We have been challenged to sell our holdings and to speak to the impoverished by deeds."

On June 14, Louis Cassels, UPI religious writer, said the demands and invasion of churches "is causing a severe backlash among people whose voluntary contributions finance church programs."

In spite of its worries over its financial problems, the NCC at its Indianapolis meeting voted to divide $500,000 between the National Committee of Black Churchmen and an outfit called the Interreligious Community for Religious Organization. This latter group created the National Black Economic Development Conference out of which the Black Manifesto came.

In the meantime, Forman has upped the ante from $500 million to $3 billion. Early last month 26 jurisdictions of Episcopal churches refused to attend the church's general convention at South Bend, because Forman's group had been invited to appear.

The theory by the editor of the magazine, *America,* that demands, however unreasonable, will prod the conscience of the American people may be a misreading of human psychology. Unreasonable demands are more likely to strengthen any latent inclination to do nothing at all.

On September 7, when 45 members of something called the Black United Front took over a Lutheran church service in Arlington, Va., one angry parishioner said, "When they come in and say, 'We demand!'—well, this turns me off!"

A year from now the currently worried treasurers at the national headquarters of American churches may have a clearer idea of how far the turning-off will go.

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Episcopalians Upset by $200,000 Grant

An example of the "silent faithful's" reaction to any granting of the Black Manifesto's demands, as described by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, can be found with the recent experience of the Episcopal Church. At the church's General Convention, held in South Bend, Ind., early in September, the Episcopalian House of Deputies, its highest governing body, voted to donate $200,000 indirectly to James Forman's National Black Economic Development Conference (NBEDC).

Reaction among the church's rank-and-file was immediate—and strong. "We in the parishes," said Seattle's Rev. W. Robert Webb, "are the little people, but we are called upon to pay the bills of the church and this is one program that is just too preposterous to offer even one cent."

Episcopal leaders who had concurred with the $200,000 grant have quickly tried to counter the rising tide of parishioner anger. In answer to complaining laymen around the country, their main argument has been that the money was technically not to go to the Forman group, but instead to the National Committee of Black Churchmen (NCBC), a recently formed interdenominational body of black clergymen that is supposedly less radical.

The leading members of the NCBC, however, fully support the demands of the Black Manifesto and it was the active support of this Manifesto by Episcopalian members of the black clergy group which prompted the House of Delegates to grant the $200,000 demand.

Thus there is little question that much of the funds will wind up with Forman's National Black Economic Development Conference, a fact which was commonly understood by the delegates at South Bend and was so reported by United Press International, the Associated Press, the New York **Times**, the Washington **Post**, the Washington **Star** and the Chicago **Tribune.** Despite what apologists now maintain, the Rev. Robert Varley, chairman of the committee that produced the original resolution on the gift, stated the situation clearly when he said that "we expect the NBEDC to be the ultimate recipient."

Understandably, local church leaders opposed to the "capitulation" were not swayed by the procedural niceties. "To give [money] to James Forman's group, by whatever devious means, marks an abject surrender on the part of the church to threats of violence, blackmail and intimidation," said Long Island rector Rev. Albert Palmer.

So far it has only been local church officials who have publicly voiced their stand against the $200,000 grant. The devoted parishioners who weekly contribute to the collection plate have yet to make their opposition known. When they do, the Episcopal Church, like the National Council of Churches, may find the coffers running dry.

Another extra-theological happening at the Episcopalian convention saw Rev. Lyle Grosjean of San Francisco (center) bring two anti-Viet Nam war Army deserters into the meeting and ask that they be granted sanctuary.

SDS and Castro's Sugar

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The Marxist, revolutionary Students for a Democratic Society is branching out—into Cuba.

A so-called "Venceremos (we shall conquer) Brigade" of high school and college students is being organized to give Fidel Castro a hand in his frenzied efforts to avoid another big flop in sugar production.

The SDS volunteers will go into the fields to cut sugar cane.

The recruiting goal is 300 to 500, with enrollment open to both men and women. Only healthy youth are wanted, and all must pass thorough physical examinations because they face rigorous living and working conditions. Use of drugs is flatly barred, and so is sexual promiscuity. Males and females will live in separate camps and dormitories.

Ideologically, the Castro regime is stridently revolutionary but socially is sternly prudish. There is nothing permissive or gay about it. "Fun" is harshly disapproved, and "democracy" is viewed with derisive contempt. There are no constitutional or any other rights in Red Cuba.

Pay will be low. On the other hand, living expenses will be provided, including transportation to and from Cuba via the Communist underground.

Similar brigades are being surreptitiously organized in other countries.

They are wanted for two reasons: (1) Castro urgently needs cane cutters. He is emptying schools, factories and even some prisons for virtual forced labor in the sugar fields. (2) Proselyting and propaganda purposes. The "Venceremos" will be heavily indoctrinated during their stays for agitational and other Communist activity when they return home.

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Why Penalize Capital Investment?

The Administration may soon regret any additional taxes on business

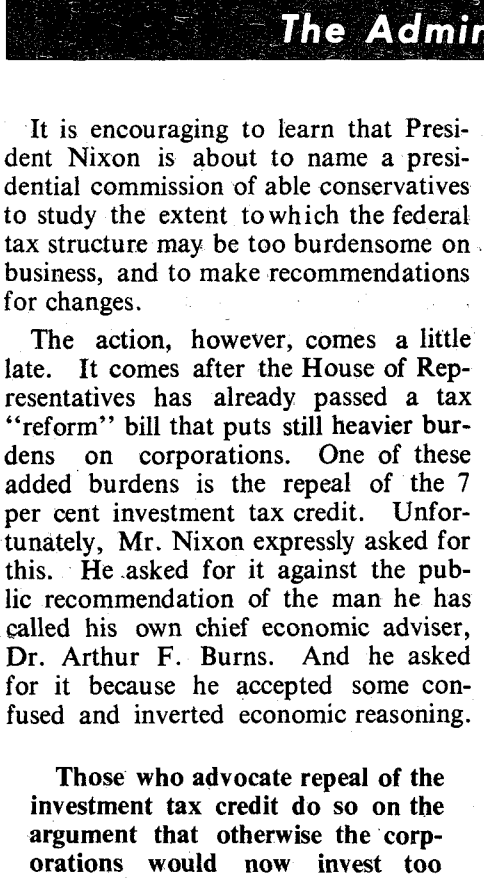
By HENRY HAZLITT

It is encouraging to learn that President Nixon is about to name a presidential commission of able conservatives to study the extent to which the federal tax structure may be too burdensome on business, and to make recommendations for changes.

The action, however, comes a little late. It comes after the House of Representatives has already passed a tax "reform" bill that puts still heavier burdens on corporations. One of these added burdens is the repeal of the 7 per cent investment tax credit. Unfortunately, Mr. Nixon expressly asked for this. He asked for it against the public recommendation of the man he has called his own chief economic adviser, Dr. Arthur F. Burns. And he asked for it because he accepted some confused and inverted economic reasoning.

Those who advocate repeal of the investment tax credit do so on the argument that otherwise the corporations would now invest too much and increase inflation. The truth is that overinvestment by the corporations, if it is occurring, is a consequence of inflation, not a cause of it.

When the federal government follows a policy of encouraging the issuance of too much irredeemable paper money, demand and prices rise. This increases the paper profits of corprations, and therefore the amount of new money they have to reinvest. As they see prices and demand for their product going up, they naturally want to increase their capacity to produce more goods. And as they become convinced that the longer they delay new investment the more their new plant or equipment is going to cost them, they naturally try to increase their new investment sooner and more than they would otherwise do.



Presidential adviser Arthur Burns opposed repeal of 7 per cent investment credit—but lost.

But the real cure for this situation is for the government to slow down the increase in the issuance of more money. The Federal Reserve authorities have already been doing this since last December. This restraint has been intensified since May. Turning the investment tax credit on and off is not the appropriate way to curb inflation—particularly at a time when corporate profits are already shrinking as a result of this year's anti-inflationary monetary policy.

Expert opinion is almost unanimous against the imposition of new burdens on corporate earnings in the new tax bill. The First National City Bank of New York points out that the most likely result of the repeal of the investment tax credit, and of the imposition of other tax burdens on the corporations, will be a reduction in the future level of corporate investment in plant and equipment.

"While this may appear appropriate in today's inflationary environment," the bank's September letter points out, "policymakers may be less sanguine about this result a year or two from now. A high level of investment in additional capacity will be needed if the nation is to provide enough jobs in the '70s for the large number of new entrants that will swell the labor force. Furthermore, the provision of an adequate number of jobs is essential to the success of the bold new programs of work and welfare recently proposed by the President."

It is important to recall once more that the investment tax credit was intended by the Kennedy Administration as "a permanent part of our tax code" and not "a temporary remedy for recession." One of the principal reasons for it was to enable American corporations to modernize every year—and not in spurts—so as to compete more effectively in international trade with foreign countries.

The effect of the new tax measures in discouraging urgently needed new capital investment gets special attention in a study made by Prof. C. Lowell Harriss for the Tax Foundation of New York:

"The Tax Reform Act of 1969," he writes, "was not deliberately designed as an 'anti-capital' measure. Yet many features could be so designated without serious misrepresentation —large increases in taxes on incomes where savings tend to be high (over $100,000), large reductions where savings are low (under $7,000), changes which add to the burdens on particular industries (oil and other natural resources, real estate, banking and thrift institutions), and repeal of the investment credit which affects all business."

The lack of attention to investment and to the productive elements of our economy, the Harriss study points out, contrasts strikingly with the emphasis in 1961-62 which led to the investment credit and that in 1954 which brought a depreciation breakthrough.

One of the great problems that the new tax bill overlooks, the study emphasizes, is this country's need for capital in the years ahead.

Among these capital needs is first of all capital for jobs, both to equip new workers entering the labor force and to provide equipment to raise the earnings of present workers. Jobs in manufacturing today require an average investment of $20,000 of capital per worker. The labor force will grow by about 1.4 million a year in the near future. An average of $20,000 capital per new worker would require $28 billion.

The Harriss study estimates that the cost of housing the new population would require $16.5 billion a year. The annual cost of upgrading existing housing would call for $18 billion more. This would make a total of $34.5 billion —only about 8 per cent above the present 1969 rate of expenditure on residential construction, which is generally conceded to be inadequate.

Altogether, the Harriss study estimates, some $80 billion—and preferably $100 billion—of new capital is needed annually. Yet the national income accounts show that net saving—personal saving (including the growth of pension funds) plus undistributed corporate profits—came to only $65 billion in 1968. And estimates for 1969 to date show a decline (to an annual rate in the first half-year of $61 billion).

The tax bill passed by the House was apparently designed by some of its framers to appeal to uninformed and unthinking voters by offering the majority of them early tax reductions at the expense of the "rich" and the "big corporations." At best, the bill is short-sighted. In the long run it will hurt precisely the great mass of the population. It will imperil the jobs of many, and certainly prevent as much average increase in real wages as would otherwise take place.

Crime in the District Now Tests Nixon

By THOMAS A. LANE, *Former District of Columbia Commissioner*

In 1968, Washington, D.C., was burned by revolutionaries who used the death of Dr. King to start a riot. This debacle climaxed years of bad government in which the Johnson Administration had used the national capital to demonstrate its obsequious accommodation of black revolution. Crime in the capital had become so rampant that Gov. George Wallace made the restoration of order in the city a central theme of his campaign for the presidency.

In 1969 crime in the District of Columbia is worse than it was in 1968!* President Nixon has sent some messages to Congress, but he has not taken effective steps to curb criminality. Like his predecessor, he is deferring to the Black United Front.

In the 50 states the President can truthfully say that crime is primarily a state responsibility. But in the District of Columbia, the enactment and enforcement of law is a federal responsibility. If crime is rampant here in Washington, that is because the President lacks the will to stop it. Who can believe that the United States lacks the resources to preserve order in the Nation's Capital?

Why, with total federal control, would succeeding administrations allow crime in the capital to become a national disgrace? They do it because the District of Columbia is subordinated to the national interests of the party in power In reality, the District measures the quality of that national policy.

Because it does not have a responsibility for law and order in the street, the federal government has bowed to political forces undermining that power. In the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations the federal government was the chief power supporting violence in the streets of America. Radicals dared to flout local law because they had the moral support of the President and the sustaining power of the attorney general and the federal courts. Obviously, the President could not oppose in the District of Columbia the forces he had set loose in the country.

Powerful blocs pressure the President about the District of Columbia. Civil rights leaders want to make it a demonstration project for their ideas. Organized labor wants it to be a model of good labor practice. But there is no lobby organized to make it a model of good government!

In 1966 Congress passed an omnibus crime bill for the District of Columbia. President Johnson gave the bill a pocket veto, in deference to his liberal supporters who consider law enforcement an affront to personal freedom and his black radicals who regard law enforcement as oppression.

Faced with a Democratic constituency in the District of Columbia and a Democratic Congress on the Hill, President Nixon has chosen to avoid confrontation with his Johnson heritage.

It would take skill and gumption to challenge the prejudice so carefully inculcated in the community in recent years. And yet, if the President declines to meet these issues squarely on the local scene, who can believe that he will attack them constructively on the national scene?

Once again, the District of Columbia becomes a fair test of the kind of leadership which a President is giving to the country. It was so for President Johnson and it will be so for President Nixon.

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WHO NEEDS A DEGREE?—"A man in the contracting business sends us a list of wage settlements agreed upon in the contracting industry in the last month or so. Operating engineers in Peoria, who now receive $5.60 an hour, will be receiving $9.95 in six years under their new contract. Cement masons in St. Louis will be receiving $9.28 in five years; pipefitters in Kansas City $9.14 in three years; iron workers in Minneapolis $8.45 in three years; common laborers in Pittsfield, Mass., $6.16 in three years, and so on. A man who works full time at $9.95 an hour would get about $20,000 a year—without any overtime. It makes you begin to wonder: Why go to college?"
—From the Chicago *Tribune*

**The FBI on September 23 issued its Uniform Crime Report for the period January-June 1969, which indicated violent crimes—murder, rape, robbery and assault—jumped 37.3 per cent in Washington, almost triple the national rate. Murder was up 42 per cent, rape 50 per cent and robberies 46 per cent.*

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How Courts Hurt the Military

Army forced to restore criminal's rank

By Col. R. D. HEINL (USMC-Ret.)

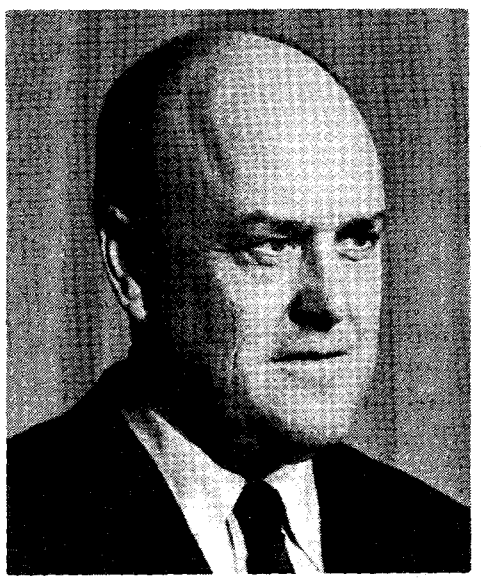
Two seemingly unrelated events highlight the lengths to which civilian America is now going to make it impossible for the armed forces to function.

Two weeks ago, in obedience to the Supreme Court's recent mandate that military courts are powerless to try non-military offenses by servicemen, the Army was forced to order the release from Leavenworth of Stephen J. Borys, a former officer convicted of 13 charges of rape, sodomy and burglary, and serving 30 years. After five well-earned years in prison, this convicted rapist and sex-prowler is to be restored to his rank, uniform, and given some $50,000 in accrued back pay.

Also two weeks ago, the Army, with Defense Department guidance, advised commanders that, to all intents and purposes, they (and the Army) are powerless to suppress underground newspapers and anti-military phamphleteering by enlisted men; that civilian demonstrators cannot be excluded from military posts; that "servicemen's unions" are legal; and that soldiers cannot be prohibited from frequenting the off-base coffee houses established by the New Left as foci for sedition and the subversion of the allegiance of men in uniform.

The common factor and impelling force behind both these decisions is that (acting mainly through the courts) our society, both legalistic and libertarian, appears unwilling to set any limit on the rights of the individual, even in uniform, when these collide with the practicalities of military discipline or special standards of military conduct.

"Duty, honor, country"—the superb motto of West Point—has traditionally defined in one phrase the high ethic and integrity expected of regular officers



Secretary of Defense Laird is faced with a potential erosion of the military's discipline and standards as a result of recent Supreme Court decisions.

of the armed forces. Each officer holds a personal commission beginning with the words, "The President of the United States, reposing special trust and confidence in John Doe, he is hereby appointed. . .etc."

The values implicit in "duty, honor, country," in the concept that the officer is one in whom his country reposes "special trust and confidence," are not mere notions. They are the foundations of example, and, proceeding directly from that great soldierly virtue, of leadership.

Leadership is what makes soldiers cross fire-swept jungle clearings, advance over beach obstacles and barbed wire, attack and demolish bunkers and pillboxes. In short, leadership (which is a compound of example and of discipline) is what makes men fight—which is the ultimate purpose of armies.

No matter what the tenuous legalities as to whether Borys was tried by a military court rather than a civil one—the fact is he was tried and convicted by his peers and now bears the brand of felony and turpitude. In the name of what values—surely not those of "duty, honor, country"—can society demand such an individual be re-anointed, restored to the honorable company of "special trust and confidence," and then be given the moral responsibility and authority to take command of young American soldiers?

What kind of military leadership and example can be expected of a five-year-man from Leavenworth? This is no Dreyfus case, but—except that no Legion of Honor garnishes this man's $50,000 back pay—the individual restitution required of the Army would almost suggest so.

If, in this court-enforced rehabilitation of a convicted sex criminal, the Army appears powerless to protect the high moral standards requisite for an officer corps, it appears equally helpless to defend itself against internal subversion and sedition.

Many years ago the Supreme Court ruled, "The Army is not a debating society," but this wise and practical view of military life and discipline has now been effectively scuttled.

The Army's directive—in reality a non-directive, for it consists mainly of "thou shalt nots" intended to tie the hands of commanders—amounts to little more than a license for open sedition in the ranks. There seems little doubt it would not have been issued had military legal experts not concluded the cause of discipline, except on strictly civilian terms, is already a lost one in the Army.

So the question arises from these two cases—what kind of defense, if any, does our society want?

More to the point—if it persists in maiming and binding the armed forces it maintains to protect it, what kind of defense does our society expect to get?

Or deserve?

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$24 (OR $125) BILLION?—"One of the facts on which professional do-gooders grind their propaganda axe for aspersing whacks at non-poverty public spending is that the space program since 1961 has cost $24 billion—and their instant reaction to that U.S. moon landing was that the money could have been put to better use, notably in handouts, here on earth. That argument is effectively refuted by a comparison of Treasury outlays, published in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Washington *Report*: During the same approximately eight years of this $24-billion space outlay, Uncle Sam has paid out five times as much—specifically, $125 billion—as interest on the national debt. On that item the do-gooders wield no propagandic axe. To them, the debt 'doesn't matter.' They regard it as a national benefaction."—From the Nashville *Banner*

These Cuban refugees landing in Miami are among the 200,000 disaffected citizens Castro admits want to leave his country.

Secret Talk Disclosed

What Castro Told Soviets

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

This writer has in hand a transcript of a secret talk Fidel Castro made to his Red party chiefs shortly after the visit of the Soviet fleet. For those honestly wanting to know the truth about Cuba, what's the matter with getting it from the one and only horse's mouth?

Castro states: "Instead of declining, illiteracy is growing. Along with indigence, this has become so serious that it is accepted as natural that thousands of production centers employing hundreds of thousands of workers are now directed by persons who have no more than a sixth-grade education."

Castro included the enormous Nicaro nickel plant. The result, he admitted, is "disastrous" in Cuba's export lag and in Castro's relations with the Soviet Union.

Castro has confiscated more than $25 billion of Cuban-owned property and at least $1 billion of property owned by Americans. The U.S. government built the Nicaro plant in Cuba in World War II and it cost the American taxpayers $100 million.

This strategic installation stands on an isolated peninsula guarded now by Soviet submarines and coastal boats. Nicaro produced 10 per cent of all the nickel of the free world. Today this is at the disposal of the Soviet Union. "But," Castro reminded his Communist party listeners, "we can hardly keep Nicaro going."

Castro told them that "more than 200,000 Cubans are waiting to leave Cuba." That figure has never before been revealed.

Surely, the first test of a country's freedom is the freedom to leave. But, out of the 200,000 waiting, only a thousand a month are allowed to go. Moreover, a crackdown starts from the moment you apply for an exit visa.

First, you are automatically dismissed from your job. Then how do you live? Your property or possessions will be automatically confiscated. Castro's dreaded G2 secret police organization immediately moves in on you and your family. And the mere exit application is enough to endanger you with imprisonment on the Isle of Pines. There your one hope is that graft can get you out.

This is the snake that coils all through the system from top to bottom. In fact, two Cuban G2 secret police defectors confirmed to me that they gave all their salary to their boss one step higher in command and lived on half the graft they extracted from Cubans they picked up who had applied for exit visas. The other half, too, "went upstairs."

The G2 still drives people into the Isle of Pines' electrified barbed wire and hangs some, to be executed, on a meat hook. Castro's executions there occur at five o'clock in the morning. Many Cubans say, "Don't ask me the day. I only know the hour." But usually Castro's prisoners are shot on the old ruse—*la fuga*—allegedly trying to escape.

For those granted an exit visa there is now a three-year backlog for the flight to Miami. Accordingly, many are trying to fly instead to Madrid. Iberia, the Spanish airline, operates a direct flight from Havana. By this route you can get out in less than a year.

Each Cuban who leaves must present himself at the Jose Marti Airport six hours before flight time. He is forced to turn in almost every personal belonging. These are dumped, sorted and sold in the foyers and halls of Havana's Capitol. Baby shoes, eyeglasses, skirts and scarves, panama hats and religious medals are stacked in the marble corridors as in the sorting bins and warehouses of Auschwitz.

Meanwhile, Castro is cashing in equivalently on the hijacking incomes in a Red racket hardly known to our public.

Each hijacked U.S. plane's airline gets a bill for "Cuban government expenses" and whatever Castro's adding machines can dream up, right down to the diverted passengers' last cup of coffee. In the transcript Castro stated that his last bill to Eastern Airlines for a stolen jet with passengers and a crew of eight was $10,008, and that his over-all average pickup is $7,500 per plane.

The bearded tyrant is in hock to the USSR up to his ears and U.S. dollar exchange is the big thing Red Cuba needs. The hijacked planes are a bonanza—a welcome fact Castro smilingly told his Communist party listeners.

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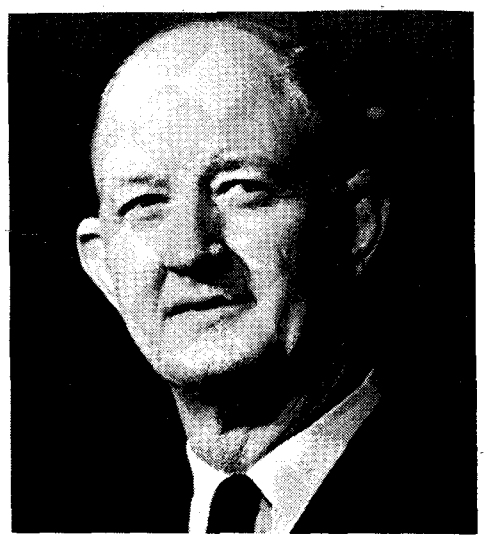
Congress at Fault

Putting the Post Office on Its Feet

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Postal service is bad, everyone agrees, and it will get worse. But who is responsible? Postmaster General Winton M. Blount says the cause is the "present archaic and inappropriate management structure." The person who waits three days for delivery of a letter that should have arrived in 12 hours blames the postal worker. Congress says nothing—and does nothing to revise a Postal Manual which weighs nine and a half pounds and sets hard and fast rules for everything including how to put rubber bands around envelopes.



Postmaster General Winton Blount has received little cooperation from Congress in his herculean effort to streamline and modernize the Post Office.

The fact is that the breakdown of postal services is directly attributable to Congress. The men on the Hill like it that way. It gives them easy patronage—and the public be damned! Now that the Nixon Administration has proposed ways and means to improve mail delivery, the Congress has deliberately sat on its hands. When Mr. Blount complains of "countless difficulties," as he did this month in *Nation's Business*, the members of the Senate and House Post Office Committees shrug. They won't be moved until the voters get on their backs. Politics comes first.

Postmaster General Blount's case is a valid one. The Post Office is underfinanced and under-staffed and its appointees are often condemned for life to the job level they were hired at.

The Post Office Department can only blunder along, making do with archaic equipment and pleading for more post offices. What action it gets comes tardily, and because of regulations imposed by Congress the department must go through a 22-step process before it can even recommend the building of new facilities. Then the General Services Administration, the Budget Bureau, and four congressional committees must approve. As a result, it takes an average of seven years—count 'em, seven!—to complete any important Post Office project.

The figures are shocking. Mr. Blount has told anyone who will listen that the Post Office investment is less than $2,500 of net fixed assets per employe. The telephone and communications industry, on the other hand, has invested $35,630 per employe—and it's in business to make a profit.

It's no wonder then that in the last 10 years, the productivity of the individual American worker has increased 34 per cent, whereas in the Post Office that increase amounts to a minuscule one-tenth of 1 per cent (0.1 per cent).

With no incentive and no motivation, the annual employment turnover rate in the Post Office is 23 per cent and 60 per cent of the entire Post Office labor force retires from the same job in which it began. As Mr. Blount has noted, "There's a pretty good turnover rate at the top, too. I'm the sixth postmaster general in this decade." How can a complex and large organization operate if its chief executive is changed, on the average, once every one and two-thirds years—or when he is subject to the shifts and changes of Administrations?

President Nixon answered that question: "Encumbered by obsolete facilities, inadequate capital, and outdated operation practices, the Post Office Department is failing the mail user in terms of service, failing the taxpayer in terms of cost, and failing the postal worker in terms of rewarding employment."

Mr. Nixon has asked for a change. He has recommended that the Post Office Department be taken out of politics, that the postmaster general not be a member of the Cabinet but the head of a public corporation—responsible, of course, to Congress but allowed to run his business the way, let us say, the head of AT&T runs one of the nation's biggest corporations.

The telephone company, in the decades of rising prices and deteriorating services, is the only one in this country which has steadily lowered the cost of its services to consumers—services which have steadily improved—while making a profit for its stockholders!

There will be no improvement in postal service until the Post Office is organized as a public corporation, headed by a career executive and run along sound managerial practices. This is what Mr. Nixon wants and what Mr. Blount has been fighting for on Capitol Hill. Such a corporation, according to very careful studies, could become self-sufficient in five years, running without the deficit which eats into the taxpayer's dollar as at present.

For the reasons noted above, Congress has not acted. And the postal unions, foolishly, have employed the full muscle of their powerful lobby to encourage Congress. The unions reason like those men of early Industrial Revolution days who tried to destroy the machines that were eliminating hand work. This blindness was understandable in the 18th Century, but it makes no sense in the last half of the 20th. So far, all this cabal of shortsighted unions and patronage-hungry congressmen has achieved is what almost amounts to a breakdown of the postal services the public is paying for.

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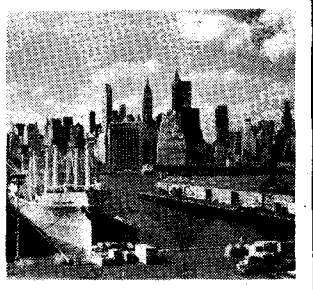

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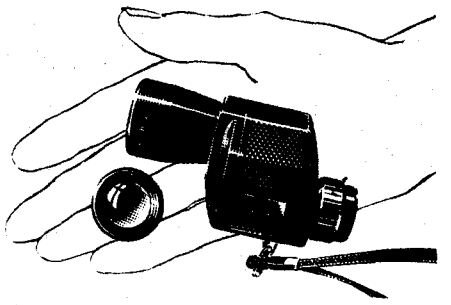

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Watching the Left in Britain

Forces of revolution become better organized

By FREDERIC NELSON

In a trenchant paragraph the London *Sunday Telegraph* pretty well sums up what is happening all over:

"In past revolutionary periods there were no 'demos,' there were revolts, which society braced itself to resist. Such revolts could succeed only in a frontal assault on the established order. Today society has lost this habit of resistance, and public protest, of a potentially violent kind, has almost everywhere in the West been accepted as a normal element of political life. As a result, a handful of zealots can make the potential violence actual."

The above observation was in reference to a signed article in the same newspaper in which the writer complained that the intervention of Britain in the Ulster controversy had destroyed "whatever vestiges of respect for public power remain in this province."

Because all the undoubted wrongs and injustices that plague the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland cannot be corrected in 20 minutes, police action to restore order and restrain revolutionary violence is discredited and replaced by a sort of military-public relations operation which regards authority and rioters more or less as equals—a development which ought not to be wholly unfamiliar to American bystanders.

The *Telegraph*'s feeling that "the forces of revolution are possibly neither stronger nor better organized today than in the past" but that "society has become less sure of itself, and consequently weaker," would be more convincing if it had taken into account the reasons why ordered society has become weaker.

One reason, in my opinion, is that the forces of revolution, whether stronger or not, have become better organized and cagier in their selection of targets.

When Ho Chi Minh died recently, British Broadcasting Co. commentators almost unanimously praised him as a sort of good-natured Uncle Ho worthy of the love and respect of everybody. James Cameron, a Ho-lover, broadcast several times. A Mr. Gollan of the British Communist party was called on to add an encomium. And even Felix Greene, who recently made a movie full of praise for this Communist murderer in North Viet Nam, got into the act. If anybody with a more balanced opinion was heard from, it must have been in an off hour.

The principle *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* (the London *Times* described Drew Pearson as "an ardent defender of what is known as the Puritan ethic"!) is all very well, but it should not cover complete misrepresentation of the character and objectives of a public figure as important as "Uncle Ho."

In view of the saturated dose of left-wing propaganda the British people are supposed to absorb, it is remarkable that they remain as relatively conservative as they are. Just the other evening, the BBC commentator who wraps up the news broadcast identified the American Administration's supposed concern for "law and order" as a subterfuge for oppression of colored people!

The forces of revolution, supported by sentimental and guilt-ridden liberals, make their assault not on "capitalism" or "entrenched greed" but against the conventions, institutions and beliefs which hold civilized society together: patriotism, the police, religion, etc. That anti-war play, *Oh, What A Lovely War*, which I saw five years ago has been made into a movie and is going strong. It ridicules the ideals and even the sacrifices of those who fought in World War I, as does the cast in the popular play *Forty Years On*, although less offensively.

All this can be explained as the normal residue of cynicism and defeatism following a disastrous war, but, as far as broadcasting is concerned, it can hardly be said that left-wing planning is absent.

For example, it was recently revealed that the BBC conducted a competition among university graduates for places in the broadcasting industry. Several hundred young men competed, but only six were chosen. Of the successful sextet, four, according to columnist Peter Simple of the *Telegraph*, were dedicated leftists, two having participated in the violence which upset their universities last year.

Well, it may be true that England's more intelligent young people are mostly on the left, but what is the explanation of *that?* I am thinking of a young friend of ours, a Cambridge graduate from an old country family. But he refused to read anything about the experiences and opinions of Anatoly Kuznetsov, the most recent Russian writer to seek refuge in this country. "I shall make up my mind about the Soviet Union after I have been there," says our young friend. Yet he has definite opinions about events in Ireland which he has never visited: He's all for Bernadette!

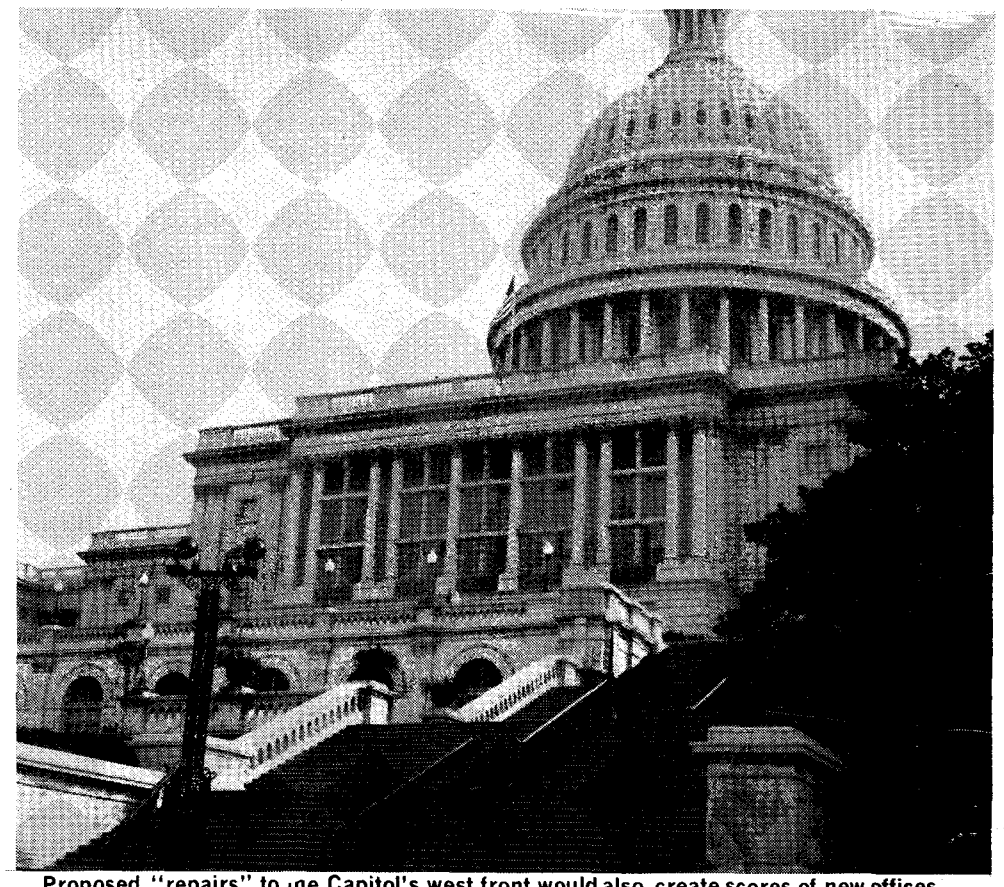
Any number of influences account for leftism in Britain's privileged class. In a new biography, Christopher Mayhew reports that he became a Socialist as a result of being abused in a snob "public" school. Mr. Mayhew denies that his apostasy sprang from concern for the lot of the working class or intellectual contortions. He simply revolted against his own environment.

Perhaps he knew as little about the Common Man as did my young friend mentioned *supra*. He probably never saw a Common Man, aside from the farm laborers on his family's estate, until, as a Cambridge student, he landed in a hospital ward. There he encountered Common Man.

"They are simply awful," he reported, "they believe in hanging, corporal punishment and war. They're not true Socialists at all!"

Perhaps this explains why Communist dictatorship seems acceptable to so many young intellectuals. To them it may look like a new switch on keeping the reactionary Common Man in his place! All this also casts new light on the fertile ground in which left-wing seeds are so successfully sown. The manipulation of small discontents here and there, from the regimentation of young aristocrats at Eton or Harrow, through Negro resentments, to the pseudo-religious wars in Belfast and Londonderry, is the left's new tactic—so much smarter than "Arise ye prisoners of starvation!"

It's never the prisoners of starvation who make successful revolutions. It's the guilt-ridden, theory-intoxicated Sons of Affluence. It's to the credit of the left's high command that it has discovered this truth and taken advantage of it. The intended victims remain generally ignorant of how the game is being played.



Proposed "repairs" to the Capitol's west front would also create scores of new offices, two additional dining rooms and other facilities for the members.

'Repair' of the West Front: Another Boondoggle by Congress?

The controversy over what to do about the deteriorating west front of the U.S. Capitol is back in the news again, and this time it appears Congress is going ahead with a long-debated rebuilding project. Last week the House appropriated $2 million to begin architectural planning on the estimated $45-million restoration; the Senate, despite the threat of a floor fight, is expected to concur.

Everyone familiar with the Capitol is aware that the walls and buttresses along its west front, the only portion of the original structure remaining intact, are beginning to crack and crumble. And everyone agrees that something must be done about it.

The controversy comes over the question of what must be done, how, and at what cost. An important point is that the currently favored bill to shore up the west front involves considerably more than just shoring up the west front.

The $2 million in planning and the estimated $45 million in actual building costs would be spent not only on repairing the west front, but on *extending* it, a construction project that would move the existing wall out as much as 88 feet and create some four and one half acres of new floor space. Within the extended portion, as now planned, there would be: 43 large offices, 55 medium offices, five committee-conference rooms, two 270-seat dining rooms, two 400-seat auditorium-theaters, two escalators, 19 stairways and bathrooms containing a total of 40 pay toilets.

It is this boondoggle which has outraged opponents of the extension bill. Coming on top of the goodies congressmen have already voted themselves this year, the bill's foes believe such a multi-million-dollar scheme to further enhance the comforts of the congressmen could only strengthen the growing rebelliousness among middle-income taxpayers—particularly when the members are supposed to be fighting inflation.

"In this Congress, we have already done a number of things in our own interest," said Rep. Samuel Stratton (D.-N.Y.), a leading House opponent of the extension windfall. "We've raised our pay, increased our staffs, and boosted our retirement benefits. Do we really need to pay this enormous sum to create 58 [sic] hideaway offices for ourselves? That is the question."

Stratton and his allies also scoff at the projected $45-million construction price tag. Considering cost overruns on past Capitol projects and the fact that actual construction would not begin for over two years, they estimate the bill will be closer to $70 million. In cost per-square-foot, says Stratton, this project could become the most expensive building ever constructed by mankind.

The House foes have a powerful, authoritative ally in the prestigious American Institute of Architects (AIA), which has been promoting a simple restoration plan for the west front to repair, not extend, the crumbling wall. This approach would preserve the architectural design of the original building as well as be less costly, the AIA claims, noting that sandstone from the same Virginia quarry used in the original Capitol is still available.

But the Congressional Establishment is never to be deterred when on the scent of a succulent boondoggle. Typical of the profound arguments the Establishment brought to the important debate was this statement by House Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.):

"I can't say [the west front] will collapse today, but I can't say it won't. *If it should collapse it would have a* tremendously adverse effect on public opinion." To say the least.

"Everyone recognizes that something has to be done," rejoined opponent Stratton, "but do we really need anything this elaborate? Is the only way to save the west front to have this incredible four-and-a-half-acre expansion?"

Stratton's side lost in the final House vote on the bill, 177 to 94. The battle now moves to the Senate.

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Elbrick Kidnaping Has Unexplained Aspects

By WILLARD EDWARDS

There are some curious and still unexplained phases of the recent kidnaping in Rio de Janeiro of the United States ambassador to Brazil, C. Burke Elbrick.

One of them, hushed up till now, is that Elbrick made his capture easy by spurning government protection when he arrived in Brazil last May.

The military government of Brazil had warned him that Communist terrorists would be planning some act to put his life in danger. Any successful effort of this nature would embarrass both Brazil and the United States, these authorities noted. The ambassador was offered security guards whenever he left the embassy.

Although Elbrick's own security advisers strongly recommended that he accept this protection, he rejected it. It was a simple matter, therefore, for four men to stop his official limousine at gunpoint September 4 and order it to a rendezvous with a waiting truck.

When the underground leftist abductors made known their demand for the release of 15 Brazilian prisoners as the price of Elbrick's release, the three military ministers acting for the ailing president of Brazil at first put up strenuous objections.

In response to the State Department's demands that they immediately yield to the kidnapers' terms, the military rulers sent a strong protest to the White House.

Elbrick refused the protection offered him against attack or abduction, the message declared, so the government had been absolved of responsibility. Every effort would be made to secure his release unharmed; but why should the government of Brazil be forced to reward terrorists for their crime, thus setting a dangerous precedent?

The only response was renewed pressure from Washington to meet the ransom conditions. The military ministers felt they had no choice but to accede. The 15 prisoners were released and flown to Mexico City, where they hailed the kidnaping and extortion as part of a design to "create a Viet Nam in Latin America."

When Elbrick was released after 78 hours he described himself as a pawn in a game between "intelligent fanatics" and the Brazilian government.

In a classic example of tardy barn-door locking, Elbrick accepted the protection of two guards in his first public appearance after his release. But he said, defensively, "An ambassador surrounded by a security guard is not an ambassador."

A veteran State Department officer disputed this statement. If there is risk to an ambassador abroad, he said, he is expected to accept protection when offered. For years, American ambassadors in Moscow have been regularly accompanied by Russian policemen in plain clothes, with no objection from the State Department.

Elbrick had a highly sympathetic audience when he told the story of his

U.S. Ambassador Burke Elbrick's refusal to accept security protection made it easier for his abductors to embarrass the Brazilian government.

kidnaping to the Senate Foreign Relations committee in closed session on September 17.

No criticism was voiced of his refusal to accept protection. It wasn't spelled out, but everyone understood that his refusal was probably based on an antipathy for Brazil's military junta shared by most committee members.

The conclusion none cared to mention: The ambassador's attitude helped to facilitate a Communist kidnaping with humiliating consequences for both the anti-Communist Brazilian regime and the Nixon Administration.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

Clark Mollenhoff

Nixon Appoints an Inspector-General

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Ignorance and iniquity may not weigh the same in the scales of human morality. But there's a theory in the Nixon White House that it hurts just as much to be caught in unawareness as in sin.

That's the reason why last month Mr. Nixon named Clark Mollenhoff, investigator-reporter from the Cowles Publications, to a unique position that might be called the Administration's inspector general, or one-man government operations committee.

No President, according to White House thinking, ever willfully did wrong in that exalted office, no matter how often he stole or lied on his way to the top. Good intentions guide the footsteps of our chief executives, but lack of information sometimes takes them to the hellhole where integrity is compromised and credibility debased.

Harding and Truman left behind enough scandals to fill several books; Eisenhower had to mumble his way out of the Dixon-Yates and Adams-Goldfine fiascos; Kennedy left his eulogists lock-jawed when it came to explaining Billie Sol Estes, the TFX aircraft and several international disasters.

Ignorance, not venality, was their undoing. Mr. Nixon hopes for better luck through better management.

Clark Mollenhoff, with more precision and less notoriety than the late Drew Pearson, has long been the nemisis of shady characters around Washington. Jimmy Hoffa left town literally shaking a fist at Clark. Bobby Baker turned several shades paler because of Clark. Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara and even the late Everett Dirksen have been seen to wince under his questioning at news conferences.

Mollenhoff, once a practicing lawyer, never relied much, if at all, on the tipsters; he habitually went into hidden public records, and he often had the help of irreproachable researchers like Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) and H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa) who helped him exhume the skeletons. Mollenhoff's presence as a White House deputy counsel—the formal title—is enough to scare the daylights out of malefactors, ethics-evaders and policy-poisoners.

My guess is that Mollenhoff will spare the President a good many bad moments in all these fields. It's doubtful if an alert inspector general would have allowed the extravagant construction of the hideous Rayburn Building or the faulty concrete-pouring that went into the Washington Stadium. It'll be disappointing if the Nixon Administration gets caught with a Walter Jenkins or an Abe Fortas in its closet.

Mollenhoff, however, is more than a fearless exposer and a public executioner of protected reputations. He has twice taken a year off from reporting to study the workings of government in this country as well as in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Russia. He has specialized, much as Mr. Nixon has, during off-seasons, in the struggle of civilized peoples everywhere to devise machinery that will run public affairs, provide social justice, generate economic prosperity and maintain peaceful competition between nations.

These, of course, have been the purposes of many political philosophers and activists, including the authors of the "Federalist Papers," but Mollenhoff has an extra value to the White House beyond being a combination of muckraker and egghead. In five published books and 18 journalistic awards since 1952, he has showed an awareness which doesn't always appear in mere fact-finders and theory-seekers.

Mollenhoff knows there's a war on, sometimes hot and sometimes cold, between our imperfect democracy and the often-more-efficient despotism of our natural enemies. There is subversive activity, now and today, inside the State Department, the civil rights movement and other respectable hideouts.

Mr. Nixon has got himself an inspector general who understands that the biggest fact of modern history is the Communist conspiracy. It's a menace that many hoity-toity officials would rather not mention or grapple with, but one that doesn't faze Mollenhoff.

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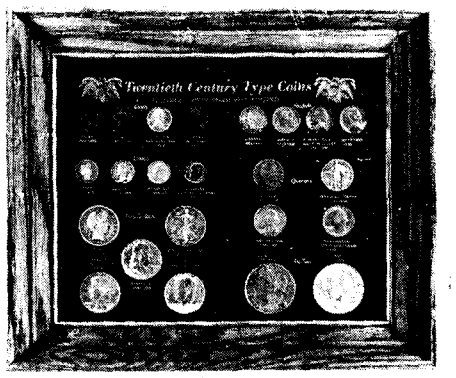

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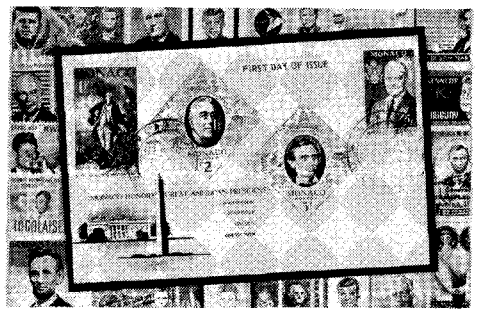

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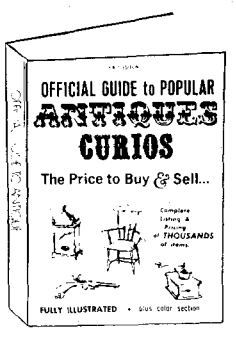

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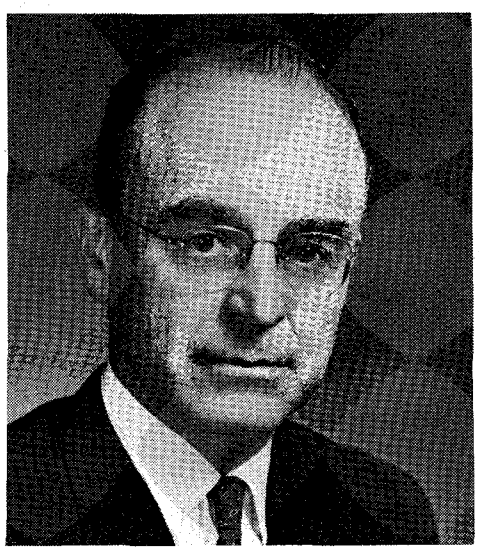
Presidential Election: Reform Needed, Not Revolution

From the Chicago *Tribune*

By an overwhelming majority, 339 to 70, the House of Representatives has approved a proposed constitutional amendment for the election of the President and vice president by direct popular vote. The scheme would eliminate the role of the states in presidential elections and take us a long way toward the end of the federal system established by the Constitution.

One of the ironies of this revolutionary proposal is that it received impetus from an indorsement in principle by President Nixon, the proponent of a "new federalism" to return to the states some of the power now overcentralized in the federal government.

Mr. Nixon had said he favored the direct election method in principle but doubted that it would be ratified by three-fourths of the states, as required for adoption. The President, therefore,



Rep. David Dennis (R.-Ind.) says direct election goes a long way toward transforming the country into "a unitary national democracy."

said he would support some plan to end the present unfair practice of giving all of a state's electoral votes to the winner of a plurality (possibly a minority) of its popular votes.

The President's approval is not required for the submission of a constitutional amendment to the states. Approval of the House plan by the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate is considered unlikely, at least in the present session of Congress.

The agitation for reform of the presidential election process grew out of fear in the campaign last year that George Wallace would win enough electoral votes to deprive both major party candidates of a majority and throw the election into the House, where there might be sordid dealing in total disregard of the popular will. That did not happen, although Wallace got 13 per cent of the popular vote and 45 electoral votes.

The possibility of a deadlock under the present system is too remote to justify a change, but Mr. Nixon is right when he says it is grossly unfair to give all of a state's electoral votes to a candidate who may have a minority of the popular vote. This method gives disproportionate power, often a balance of power, to machine-controlled urban voters in the pivotal industrial states.

The best plan so far proposed to correct this evil has been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. It would apportion electoral votes on the basis of representation in Congress. A presidential candidate would get two electoral votes for each state and one for each congressional district he carried.

The House plan, as Rep. David Dennis (R.-Ind.) has said, "goes a long way toward transforming us from a federal republic to a unitary national democracy." Congress, not the states, would prescribe qualifications for voting. The states would be little more than geographical expressions. If no candidate received 40 per cent of the popular vote, there would be a runoff. The inevitable result of such a system would be a multiplicity of minority parties, and in a period of distress the danger would be not a deadlock but the election of someone like Wallace.

Under the present republican system, as James Madison said, "the influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular states, but will be unable to spread a conflagration through the other states. . . .A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it."

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) was the chief sponsor of the House plan, which he called "the crowning achievement of my whole life." Whatever else one may say about Manny Celler, he is no James Madison.

In a move initiated by the Douglas County, Neb., Young Republicans and backed by YR National Chairman Ron Romans, YRs around the country will be asked to contact their U.S. senators and urge them to oppose direct presidential election and instead support the district (Mundt) plan. The YRs will also work on their state legislators, pointing out that even if the direct election amendment passes the Senate, the opposition of only 13 state legislatures will kill it.

The Problem of Philanthropy by Law

By ALICE WIDENER

Fresh scandals about the welfare administration in New York City under the inept leadership of Mayor John Lindsay and Mitchell Ginsberg, with revelations concerning fraud by 20 recipients of more than $86,000, should lead serious thinkers in our nation to reflect on the whole question of philanthropy by law.

It is generally assumed to be morally right and necessary. But many great thinkers throughout the ages have grappled intellectually with the problem of wise government and have tried hard to determine what are its proper functions.

One of these thinkers was Frederic Bastiat of France, who wrote a treatise, "The Law," in 1850, at a time when his country was turning intellectually to socialism. In 1950 Dean Russell of the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, translated Bastiat's "The Law" into English, aided by Bertrand de Jouvenel. Newspaper headlines today confirm the sanity and validity of Bastiat's observations; we might well take them to heart.

Bastiat argued that the sole function of law (and therefore of government) is to guarantee the individual's right of self-defense from attacks on his person and property. He argued that if the law acts in any manner except to protect the individual's person and property, "its actions then necessarily violate the liberty of persons and their right to own property."

Bastiat went on to explain, "If you exceed this proper limit—if you attempt to make the law religious, fraternal, equalizing, philanthropic, industrial, literary, or artistic—you will then be lost in an uncharted territory, in vagueness and uncertainty, in a forced utopia or, even worse, in a multitude of utopias, each striving to seize the law and impose it upon you. This is true because fraternity and philanthropy, unlike justice, do not have precise limits. Once started, where will you stop? And where will the law stop itself?"

Frederic Bastiat then ticked off the concepts of his colleagues in government: Mr. de Saint Cricq said the law should control consumers to benefit producers; Mrs. Considerant said the law should secure for labor groups a guaranteed minimum of clothing, housing, food, and all other necessities of life; Mr. Louis Blanc said the minimum guarantees were only a part of total fraternity; that the law should give all these and more, and furnish to people "even in the most inaccessible hamlets all the refinements of luxury, literature and art."

Last night I interrupted my reading of Bastiat to watch the late TV news and saw a group of welfare mothers staging a violent demonstration for children's clothing allowances. The most vocal mother (who shouted into a microphone accusations against New York state and New York City for "starving and mistreating my children") paused frequently during her vituperative oration to take deep drags on a cigarette. "This is my 16-year-old son deprived of even a cotton undershirt to go to school in!" she screamed. The son stared into the camera lens, then lifted a cigarette to his lips and puffed hard at it.

At New York City supermarkets, today, the price of a carton of cigarettes is $4.20. In New York City, Woolworth charges $1.99 for three boys' cotton undershirts. Therefore, the welfare mother could get *her son three cotton undershirts for* $2.21 less than she paid for a carton of cigarettes.

The law in New York City, where I reside, is that I must pay a city income tax. Two-thirds of the money collected by the city from my income goes to welfare for children of whom 85 per cent are born out of wedlock to mothers under 35 years of age.

In 1950, Bastiat wrote that philanthropy-by-law subjects working people to legalized plunder of the fruits of their labor. As a working person, I wonder whether he knew how right he was.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

The 'Housing Bonanza'

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

Last July the Congress enacted the 136-page 1968 Housing Act, which was described by the Washington *Post* as a "housing bonanza," and by another as an "omnibus monstrosity." No one would dare estimate the ultimate cost to the taxpayers, but it clearly would be up in the billions. This "Great Society" answer to the nation's housing problems provided goodies galore for almost everyone except the poor taxpayer. Some of us opposed it, but to no avail.

Included were provisions which gave vast authority to HUD to help pay interest charges, rentals, taxes, etc., on behalf of those in low-income brackets, related to their housing.

Under a home-purchase authority HUD recently announced plans to have 511 housing units constructed in San Antonio to sell for up to $17,500 each to those earning between $3,000 and $6,000—with no more than 20 per cent of the purchaser's monthly income to be paid on the purchase price. Uncle Sam is to pick up the balance, estimated at about $1,000 a year per unit, and the commitment is to continue for 25 years.

I have lodged a vigorous protest against this and any other similar projects wherever located. While there is need for better solutions to housing problems, the subsidy involved here is obviously exorbitant and is manifestly unfair to the taxpayers who must work for a living to help pay the bills. Why use a five-ton truck to do the job of an ordinary pickup?

'The Art of War'

By REP. JAMES UTT (R.-Calif.)

In 500 B.C., Sun Tzu, Chinese strategist, issued a paper entitled, "The Art of War," and I would like to quote one sentence: "To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." That was 2,500 years ago, and we have done much toward eliminating our defenses which, if not checked, will break our will to resist in accordance with Sun Tzu's blueprint.

On Taxing the Rich

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

The Senate has an excellent opportunity to create an equitable and economically sound tax system. We must take steps to ease the tax burden on middle-income taxpayers.

In our zeal to achieve a more equitable tax system, however, we cannot afford to act with excessive vengeance against the wealthy. If we do we could find ourselves in even deeper economic straits.

Many of the currently existing tax advantages for the wealthy act as effective incentives to channel a significant amount of funds into areas which would require additional tax dollars if funds from wealthy individuals were suddenly not available.

It may be cheaper for us as taxpayers to allow a tax advantage as an incentive to the wealthy, than to shoulder the increased economic burden which would result in its absence. For example, existing tax law encourages the wealthy to donate funds to charitable institutions which serve the public interest. Often these donations are channeled through foundations. If we tax these donations so heavily as to reduce them significantly, we could find ourselves forced to channel government funds into areas where government expenses are not now required.

Another area where an existing tax advantage needs to be maintained is that of state and municipal bonds. The law now allows individuals who purchase these bonds to collect the interest on them tax free. This allows the bonds to be attractive to investors even though they offer very low interest rates. Taxation of the interest on state and municipal bonds will require state and local governments to pay higher interest rates. That, in turn, means one of two things: a reduction in city services to their citizens, or increased state and local taxes to pay those higher interest rates.

Capitol Repairs

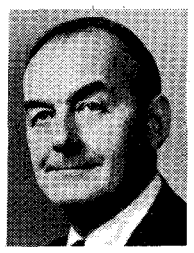
By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Hard on the heels of President Nixon's order that there be a 75 per cent cutback in federally financed construction, leaders in Congress announced they would push for $45 million for an expansion of the west front of the Capitol. If the President means business with his 75 per cent cutback, then it certainly must apply to the nation's Capitol as well as to the $12.5 million Congress recently authorized for the Kennedy Cultural Center in Washington. Let's have no special treatment for Washington, D.C., while penalizing the rest of the country.

IDs for Ghanaians

By SEN. JOHN WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

Taxpayers might be interested in knowing that last year the U.S. government under the Agency for International Development (AID) program approved a project estimated to cost over $1 million, the purpose of which was to provide identification cards for prospective voters in Ghana.



Allegedly this short-term project was for the purpose of aiding the citizens of that country in the elections which were about to be held. Later, when it became apparent that this would not be feasible, rather than abandoning the project and saving money the agency just changed the stated purpose of the program and called it a three-year project to supply the citizens of that country with social security identification numbers.

Of just what use social security numbers would be for citizens of Ghana, a country without a social security program, is unexplained.

The Electoral Commission of Ghana has expressed strong doubt as to the need for any such program and has indicated a reluctance to meet any portion of the cost; but the fact that the government of Ghana is not enthusiastic about the project seemed unimportant to our AID officials, and as of the last notice they indicated their intention to proceed as long as the money lasted.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• After seven days of debate, the House voted to abolish one of the country's oldest institutions, the electoral college, and passed a **proposed constitutional amendment (HJ Res. 681) to provide for the direct popular election of President and vice president.** After rejecting various alternate electoral plans, the House approved the amendment by a 339-to-70 vote. The Senate, however, may not go along with the radical House plan to revise the electoral college, as a subcommittee on the Judiciary has defeated a similar constitutional amendment proposed by Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.). The same subcommittee, of which Bayh is chairman, has reported out the district plan to modify the electoral college proposed by Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.). Unlike the direct election plan, the district proposal would keep the electoral college intact and eliminate a number of other dangerous inroads into states' rights.

• Anti-military forces in the Senate suffered a major defeat when the body, after rejecting several liberal amendments, passed a $20-billion **military procurement authorization bill** (S 2546). The defeated amendments would have cut back on defense spending for new bomber and aircraft carrier construction, as well as other research and development projects. Surveying the series of defeats, which came after two months of heated debate and intense anti-military propaganda, Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), leader of the spending foes, said his forces would not renew their battle when the time comes to vote on actual military procurement appropriations. Defense spending must still be approved by the House, where hostility to the military is less severe and no contest is expected.

• House sponsors of an **emergency student loan bill** (HR 13194), led by the strong-willed chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), had shelved the measure over the summer to allow congressional tempers, aroused by student disorders last spring, to cool down. Also, to make even more certain there would be no amendment to strike back at student radicals, Perkins had the bill go to the floor under an arrangement that made amendment impossible. The gag strategy worked and the bill was approved by the House last week, 322 to 60, without a single amendment aimed at curbing campus disorders being appended. The measure passed the Senate in August.

• About the only thing certain regarding the future of **income tax reform** in Congress is that hearings and debate will continue for at least two more months. The Senate Finance Committee is hearing as many as 23 witnesses a day, with over 700 persons having asked to testify. Everybody wants their say. Last week, a Miss Dorothy Shinder, representing a group called War Singles, appeared to ask $35,000 in reparations for every American woman who has not married because her prospective husband went away to war.

• Thomas Dodd's Senate Judiciary Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency is the forum for current debate on how to more effectively **control drugs and narcotics.** Dodd has his own bill (S 1895) before the committee, which would reorganize federal drug control operations and authorize federal courts to commit drug addicts to rehabilitative facilities, rather than prosecute them on criminal charges. The Administration's proposed "Controlled Dangerous Substances Act" (S 2637) is also being considered; this measure would strengthen federal authority in cutting off the source of dangerous drugs, by expanding the enforcement powers of the Bureau of Narcotics, as well as create new educational and research programs to study the drug problem.

• In another Administration maneuver on the **food stamp plan,** two Cabinet officials last week told the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs that the White House favored transferring the stamp program from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the Cabinet officers were the secretaries of those departments, Robert Finch and Clifford Hardin. The Administration had orgiinally proposed a program to provide free food stamps to families with monthly incomes under $30, but when President Nixon unveiled his broad-ranging welfare revisions he said this would eliminate the need for the food stamps; when congressional liberals and welfare spokesmen denounced this proposed cut-off, the White House quickly reaffirmed its original proposal. And last week Finch told the Senate subcommittee that Nixon's proposed family assistance plan would "in no way reduce" the Administration's commitment to the food stamp program.

• Two little-noticed provisions to **strengthen the enforcement powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** (EEOC) are now under consideration by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Labor. Both bills would transform the EEOC from an advisory to an enforcement agency, with one being more forceful than the other. The Administration's bill (S 2806) would allow the EEOC to initiate federal district court suits itself, rather than ask the Justice Department to do this, as is presently done. The other measure, backed by most liberal Democrats, would permit the EEOC to bypass litigation altogether and simply issue cease-and-desist orders to firms it accused of discriminatory practices. Senate Republicans and conservatives can be expected to put up a strong fight against the cease-and-desist bill, making the Administration's measure appear the winner.

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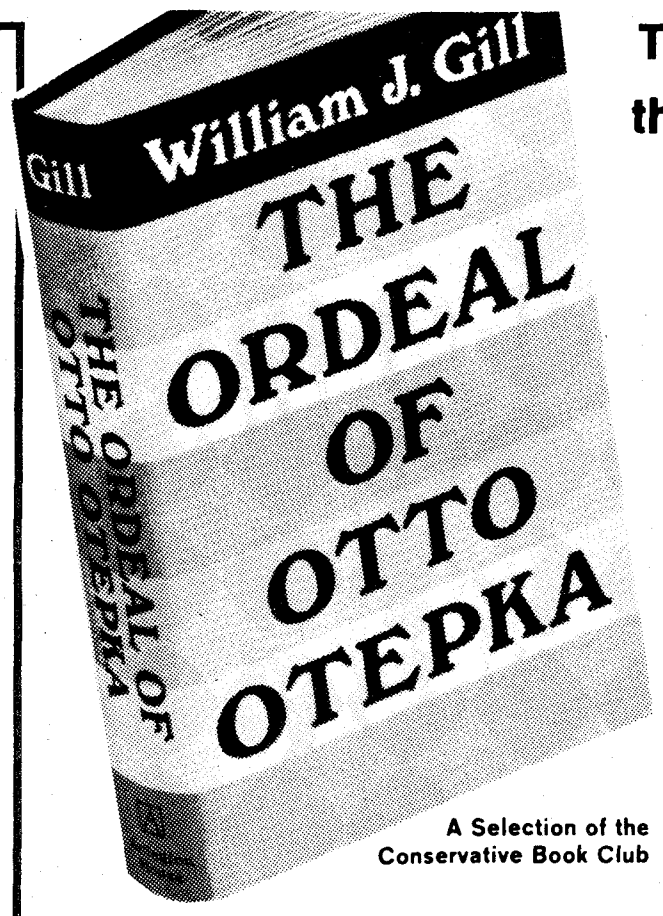
William Gill's Revelations About the State Dept. Are More Than History. Many of These Men Are Still There!

- Dean Rusk and Bobby Kennedy order Otepka to issue a top-secret clearance to a prominent security risk.
- Richard Nixon introduces a bill in 1951 that would have saved Otepka. But the bill dies in committee.
- Dean Acheson and Nelson Rockefeller clear the notorious John Stewart Service.
- The lengths to which John Kennedy went to placate Liberal fears that he was "soft on McCarthyism."
- Rusk's little-known role in the fall of China, and in keeping our hands tied in Korea.
- Distortions in Rusk's testimony over his relationship with the Communist-run IPR.
- The Rostow plan for surrendering U.S. sovereignty. Other JFK advisors who agreed.
- Dr. Jerome Weisner promises Soviet scientists to fight against any ABM system.
- State plays the numbers game to hide massive cuts in the security office.
- "Channels" defeat J. Edgar Hoover — and another nation falls to the Communists.
- Who was the mysterious Senor Montenegro? Why did the President stick his neck out for him?
- The gay Undersecretary of State who, against his deepest desires, unintentionally helps install Batista as Cuba's strongman.
- Rusk signs 152 security waivers in his first 14 months when only five had been issued in eight years under Eisenhower — and two of those five backfired.
- Can the *New York Times'* vendetta against Otto Otepka be explained solely in terms of its inveterate anti-anti-Communism? No, says Senator Strom Thurmond, since the name of "one of the principals in the Otepka case is printed at the top of the newspaper's masthead." That name — and its connection with the case — is revealed in this book.
- A rare pro-security decision from the Supreme Court subverted by a weird coterie of State and Justice Department lawyers.
- The prominent New Frontier official who asked Otepka: "What are the chances of getting Alger Hiss back into government?"
- Massive Soviet penetration of our intelligence agencies: the ominous evidence.
- Important defector from Poland is foiled in his attempt to contact the FBI — the one U.S. agency he knew was free of Soviet penetration.
- Three top American scientists, each with access to highly classified material, identified as KGB agents.
- Did the sack of Otepka lead, obliquely, to the assassination of President Kennedy?
- The strange twists and turns of Senator Thomas Dodd: were they partially explained when his unethical practices were brought to light?
- Evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald was a member of KGB.
- High White House staffer learns of Pueblo seizure, keeps the President in the dark for hours. (This same man had been refused a security clearance by Otepka.)
- State employee first corroborates Otepka's statements, then changes his mind — after an "accident."
- The promise from Senators Goldwater, Thurmond and Dirksen that persuaded Otepka to take the SACB appointment.



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